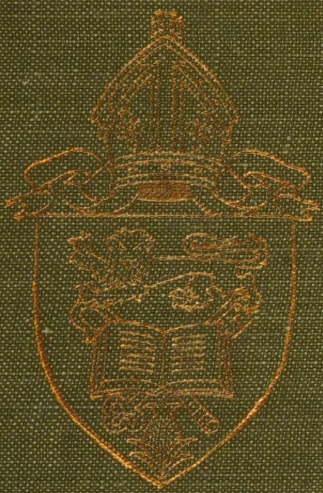
THE LIFE OF ENOS NUTTALL



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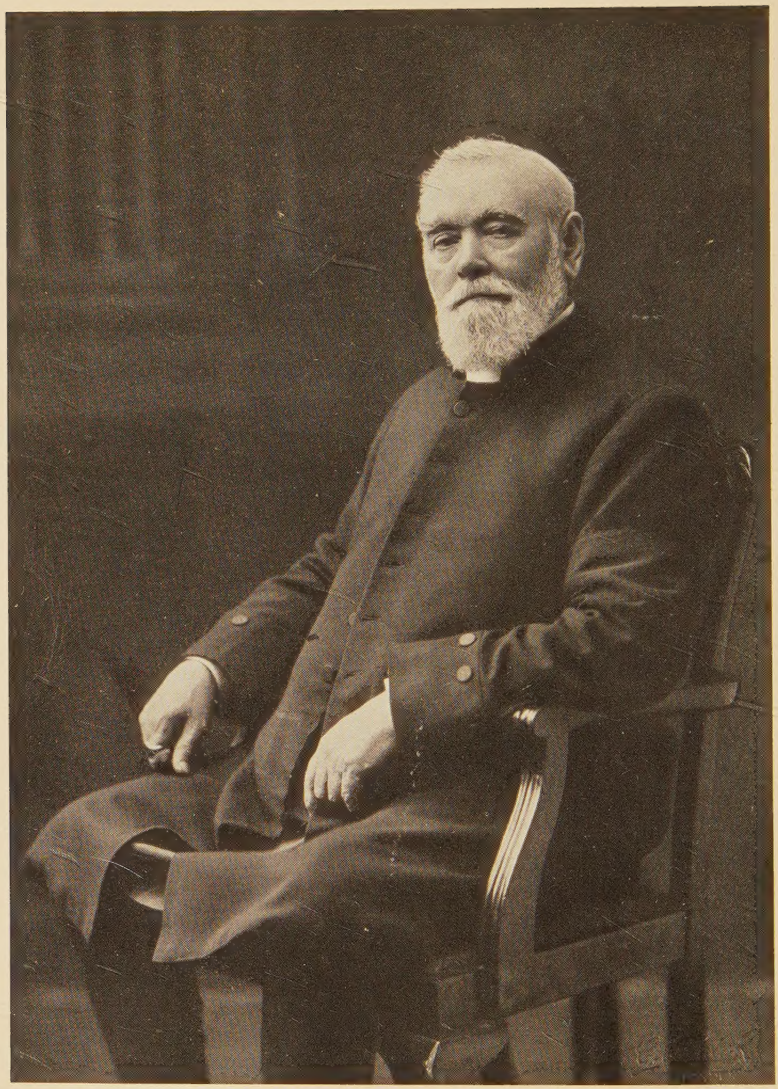
THE LIFE OF ENOS NUTTALL



Yours very truly
E. Jamaica

THE LIFE OF ENOS NUTTALL

ARCHBISHOP OF THE WEST INDIES

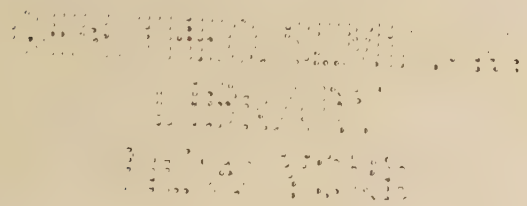
BY

FRANK CUNDALL

WITH A FOREWORD BY

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



LONDON

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

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FOREWORD

IT has been my privilege during the last forty years to be in close personal touch with all the leading Bishops of the Anglican Communion throughout the world. Among these I should unhesitatingly assign to Enos Nuttall a place in the front rank. For many years I was in constant and confidential communication with him, and he was again and again our honoured guest during some part of his almost annual visits to England. I can claim to have known him as a thinker, as an administrator, as a statesman, and as a personal friend. His work and words in the Lambeth Conferences of Bishops in 1888, 1897, and 1908 were of the very highest value. I think I should not be wrong in saying that when he became a member of the little Consultative Body of that Conference hardly any voice carried greater weight than his own. What I specially esteemed in him was the broad Christian sanity with which he handled, either publicly or privately, every question that he touched.

I had, of course, most to do with him in matters connected with the West Indies. This began before I was Archbishop, as he did me the honour of consulting me time after time. The large-hearted policy which he expounded and directed in regard to colour questions was not limited to the West Indies in its effect. I regard him as having been on this subject the wisest teacher that I have known. Again, his handling of the difficult problem of our relation to the Moravian Church was beyond praise. He was essentially a bridge-builder, and his bridges were not mere temporary structures: they will endure. This book will doubtless tell of the reputation

which he acquired among business men by the amazing capacity of his plans for alleviating the misfortunes of Jamaica after hurricanes and earthquakes. Yet his remarkable business capacity was always subordinated to his assertion of great Christian principles. Altogether he was a labourer whose handiwork will bear the test of time. While his heart was always centred in the West Indies and the possibilities for the Christian Faith therein, he did great things for the Church as a whole. The gentle loving-kindness of the man gave a peculiar and an almost unexpected character to his forcefulness as an administrator, a spokesman, and a guide. Personally, I valued his friendship more deeply than I can easily put into words.

RANDALL CANTUAR.

Lambeth Palace, S.E. 1.
25th of October, 1921.

PREFACE

IN contributing to the *Handbook of Jamaica for 1917* a brief memoir of Enos Nuttall, Archbishop of the West Indies, the present writer expressed the hope that it might pave the way for a complete Life in the future. Various circumstances prevented the fulfilment of this hope, until the Synod of the Church of England in Jamaica, held in the February of 1920, unanimously resolved that:

> "Whereas more than three and a half years have elapsed since the passing away of the late Archbishop of the West Indies; and whereas it is greatly to be desired that a record of his life be preserved for the information of the present generation and for posterity: this Synod take steps to publish an authoritative Life of the late Archbishop of the West Indies and that a Committee be appointed with full power to publish."

The Committee asked the present writer to undertake the work. This he agreed to do, out of a deep regard for the Archbishop's memory, but with many misgivings as to his ability to do anything like justice to the subject. His claim to write it rests on his regard for the subject, on twenty-five years' membership of the Archbishop's Diocesan Council, and on association for many years with him in educational affairs.

All that has been attempted is a simple record of the life and work of the Archbishop, based in a great measure on the diaries which he kept and the copies of his letters, over thirty-five thousand in number, filling over eighty books. The Life is thus a record of his work, not so much as it appeared to others, but as it appeared to himself. The numberless letters which he wrote during the term of his episcopacy are on all manner of subjects and are addressed to all manner of persons, from Archbishops to catechists, from Governors to peasants. They vary in length from notes of two or three lines to letters of twenty pages of foolscap. A very large number of them deal with the ever-present subject of finding cures for clergymen, clergymen for cures, and funds for both, and the constant change in the grouping of cures due to the ever-shifting nature of the population, owing sometimes to drought or hurricane, and more often the varying stages of agricultural developments. Other letters deal exhaustively with education.

The Archbishop's elaborate addresses to Synod deal in great measure with matters of the moment, and as such are often not more suitable for quotation than are many entries in his diaries or most of his official letters. It is to be hoped that, while much has been omitted from the diaries as not being of general interest, the principal records which tend to throw light on his character have been included.

His career has been recorded in chronological order, as it seemed that that arrangement best reflects his life's work, which was a mosaic of constant effort for the advancement of the Church, education, and the social conditions in Jamaica, set in a ceaseless round of meetings of boards and committees of all kinds, leaving no time for recreation. He ever did the thing that was nearest, keeping the while his vision alike on the past and the future.

Estimates of his many qualifications have been left in the main to be gathered from his own words and from the pens of those who have contributed reminiscences, to whom the writer's thanks are hereby tendered.

The reader living outside Jamaica is asked to remember, if he finds some details a little wearisome, that the Life has been written primarily for Jamaica. It affords an interesting example of a colonial diocese which had to work out its own salvation when suddenly thrown on its own resources by Disestablishment. This it did under the statesmanlike guidance of Enos Nuttall, whose name will ever be remembered with gratitude in Jamaica and throughout the Province of the West Indies.

F. C.

Kingston, Jamaica.
November, 1921.

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THE LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP NUTTALL

CHAPTER I

1842–1862

EARLY LIFE

IN December, 1891, on one of his many voyages from Jamaica to England, Bishop Nuttall was moved to put on paper a memorandum of his early career, and in December, 1897, owing to the fact that many enquiries had been made by representatives of English newspapers and some incorrect statements had been published respecting his life, a friend of the Archbishop who was acquainted with most of the facts of public interest, compiled a sketch which was used by interviewers, and was also published in the *Jamaica Churchman* at the time. On these two sources much of the following account of his early life is based. Curiously enough, neither gives his birthplace.

Although a typical Yorkshire man and of Yorkshire stock, he was not, as is commonly supposed, of Yorkshire birth. In June, 1902, he mentioned incidentally in a communication which he sent to a correspondent who sought an account of his life, that he was born on the 26th of January, 1842, at Clitheroe, during a temporary sojourn there of his mother. A brother of his father, named Robert, was then resident there. Though born across the border in Lancashire, all his early life was spent in Yorkshire. The home of his mother, Alice, daughter of William and Martha Armistead,* who was born on the

* William Armistead was churchwarden of St. Mary-le-Gill, the parish church of the district, situated in the fields near Coates, a township adjoining Barnoldswick. The church was originally built by the Cistercian monks about the middle of the thirteenth century.

6th of November, 1817, was a farmhouse named Aynhams, dating from 1824, in the picturesque Craven district of the West Riding of Yorkshire, by Lane Ends, a hamlet near Barnoldswick, a town of recent growth.

His earliest memory was of a happy home, with a judicious, loving, godly mother, and a father immersed in the cares and labours of a very heterogeneous business, chiefly in the building line. His mother's family were strong Church-folk: the men, of the ordinary formal type of those days, belonged to an old family of farmers and yeomen. The women in the direct line of his descent had been, for two or three generations at least, notable for a type of Churchmanship characterized by deep spiritual devotion and by works of practical piety and charity done for the benefit of the poor and ignorant.

It was a great blow to his grandfather when his favourite daughter married a Wesleyan Nonconformist; and a bitter estrangement followed. The old man might have found some comfort if he could have foreseen that his son-in-law would in after years succeed him in his office as warden of the church of the parish. But the nonconformity taught in that home had reference only to the prevailing ungodliness; and the worship of the old church was thought of, and occasionally shared in, with affection and reverence. As far back as Enos Nuttall could recollect, attendance at service at the old parish church was the greatest pleasure of the week.

When he was ten years old his mother died, and the light of his home was to him suddenly and forever quenched. A weeping multitude followed her to her grave in the churchyard of St. Mary-le-Gill,* for in

* The following is the inscription on her tombstone:

"Sacred to the memory of Alice, wife of James Nuttall and daughter of William and Martha Armistead, who died 28th May, 1852, aged 34 years; also of Edwin, son of James and Alice Nuttall, who died 20th February, 1848, aged 3 years; also of Martha, their daughter, who died 5th October, 1868, aged 21 years.

"In thankful acknowledgment of blessings received through the memory and the influence of a Mother's holy living and

the absence of an earnest ministry she had been a true mother in Israel to many (and especially the women) in the parish who needed comfort and spiritual guidance. She left a daughter, Martha, and a son, Ezra,* then four years old.

Never of robust health, his mother made a companion of her eldest child and read to him from history and biographies, so that the boy became thoughtful and serious beyond his years. Her memory was ever an inspiration to him throughout his career, and he often

---

dying, this stone is erected by her two sons, Rev. Enos Nuttall of Jamaica, and Rev. Ezra Nuttall of Brecon."

Near by are the tombstones of her father and mother:

"Sacred to the memory of MARTHA, the wife of William Armistead, who died at Aynhams, in this parish, the 7th day of December, Anno Domini, 1839, aged 53 years.

'Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house, and the place where Thine honour dwelleth.'

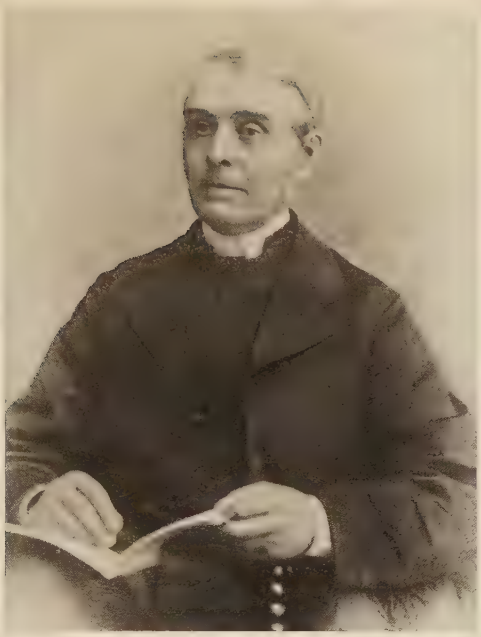
"Also of the above-named WILLIAM ARMISTEAD, who died at Lane Ends, Barnoldswick, September 30th, 1867, aged 84 years."

* Ezra Nuttall was born at Coates, Yorkshire, on the 4th of November, 1850. He was in training for the law when he heard the Divine Call to the work of the ministry in 1871. After four years in the Brecon and Budleigh Salterton circuits he was sent to South Africa in 1875, where he exercised a powerful and fruitful ministry. For twenty years he was chairman of a district, for three years he filled the secretaryship of the Conference with great efficiency, and he was President in 1895 and in 1904. He was designated to fill this high office once more in the centenary year of South African Methodism as a fitting acknowledgment of his solid worth and distinguished work, but he did not live to enjoy that honour. He died on the 23rd of November, 1915. "He was a man of outstanding strength and ability, possessing a vigorous and dignified personality. He was a powerful and gifted preacher, whose sermons were always terse, choice, and impressive. He enjoyed the confidence, esteem, and love of the Methodist people. He was a conscientious and unflagging worker, his mental alertness was conspicuous, and he read largely and widely. A successful organizer, he possessed much power of initiation, while he was a wise and capable administrator. He was a sagacious counsellor, whose advice was sought not only within, but outside, Methodism. On some important occasions in South African life he played his part as a loyal citizen, and he was a witness for all that is noblest and best in religious and civic life. His many services to public and philanthropic organizations were highly valued. His thought and care were ungrudgingly given to further the best interests of the native, coloured and Indian people."

publicly stated that among the influences most potent in modelling his own life had been the memories of his mother's life and teaching.

James Nuttall, the father of Enos, lived in Coates at a farmhouse on the roadside now called Coates House, opposite Coates Hall. In early life a Wesleyan Methodist, he later joined the Church of England, in which he became a lay preacher and Sunday school teacher, and eventually a churchwarden. He combined farming with building, cotton-weaving, and other interests. He later removed to Thornton-in-Craven, and for many years was associated with the church life of the village. Coates Weaving-shed was originally built by him. He was a man of strong character and of great natural ability, qualities which he transmitted to his children. He was a strong conservative in politics and a good public speaker. He was always an enthusiast in religious matters, and thus the boy Enos was brought into contact, at an early age, with the religious life of the community.

Enos's education consisted chiefly of personal study and private tuition. The neighbourhood was badly provided with educational facilities. He remembered going to a dame school for a few weeks, and being set to learn the 14th chapter of Job. He attended the parish school in the Butts at Barnoldswick for several years; and the master taught him and his friend, William Atkinson, to play the flute after school hours. He was always fond of the flute, and up to the last could not see one without trying it. During that time he learnt all there was to be learnt. His father had many branches of business, chiefly connected with building. He was made to do much writing and account keeping, morning and evening, at the time he was going to school or doing private study. This, though hard, tested his knowledge and made it practical. At all odd times he pursued various branches of study, with the help of any local experts available. He wrote an English Grammar of his own so as to arrange and master the facts set forth in the grammars he had. He dealt



JAMES NUTTALL

ENOS NUTTALL

similarly with arithmetic. Later he learnt the theoretical and practical details of various branches of his father's business, including something of engineering and building construction. This kind of training, which made him, at twelve years of age, responsible for the accuracy of specifications and calculations for the erection of a block of houses, was a useful preparation for the work of erecting churches, parsonages, schools and colleges, in Jamaica, towards which he contributed much in the way of impetus, direction and help. On Sundays he chiefly attended the Wesleyan chapel at Barnoldswick, and the Sunday school. His favourite place of resort, however, for services was the church of St. Mary-le-Gill, especially after his mother had been laid to rest there alongside her forbears.

His father in January, 1853, married again, Elizabeth Appleby, only child of Ralph Appleby* of Barnoldswick. Life at home became uncongenial to the young lad, and he felt the lack of educational advantages for which he craved through his young days and he believed there were means to supply, a lack which he constantly regretted throughout his career. But his father was for a time seriously hampered by a lawsuit over a water rights dispute, which, though he was successful in the end, cost him a large sum. The litigation was of a protracted

* A tombstone in the churchyard of St. Mary-le-Gill bears the following inscription:

In Memoriam

Ralph Appleby, born 1793; died July 28, 1859.
James Nuttall, born October 26, 1819; died July 11, 1903.
Elizabeth Appleby Nuttall, born February 9, 1824; died July 13, 1894.
Ralph Appleby Nuttall, born December 19, 1853; died May 15, 1859.
Ellen Alice Nuttall, born August 6, 1856; died April 3, 1865.
Margaret Ann Nuttall, born August 6, 1856; died February 28, 1870.
James Appleby Nuttall, born December 17, 1863; died December 17, 1863.

nature and created at the time much comment and party feeling.*

Apart from the financial losses occasioned by this lawsuit, James Nuttall on the one hand felt that he needed his son's assistance in his business, and had, on the other, a personal dislike to the encouragement of an exclusively literary education for young men, rather than an education of a practical character. Unfavourably impressed by some examples which came closely under his notice of the outcome of higher education and university training, he had, like many hard-headed Yorkshire men, a considerable contempt for educational methods, which seemed to be barren of practical benefits. But he must have seen fit to change his mind later, for he sent to Oxford a son by his second marriage.†

* The case of Nuttall *versus* Bracewell occupies fourteen pages in "Anstie and Charles Law Reports, Court of Exchequer," vol. ii., 1867, and Sir Samuel Martin's judgment is quoted in Angell's "Treatise on the Law of Watercourses," Boston, 1869.

The facts appearing on the trial were these: In 1804 William Bracewell, a relative of the defendant, was the owner of a mill called Coates' Mill, situated at a little distance from a stream called the Corn Mill Beck, and also of the land thence up to the bank of the stream. The land on the stream above the mill was owned by one Bagshaw, and was called Tom Milner's Ing, and in this close there was a weir upon the stream at a place called Heble Bridge. In 1804 a written agreement was made between Bagshaw and Bracewell, by which the latter was permitted to cut a goit from the weir in Tom Milner's Ing, through the Ing into Bracewell's land, and for this and another water privilege he was to pay Bagshaw 5s. annually. This goit was made accordingly, and had since then, and up to March, 1865, been used for the purpose of bringing the water of the stream from the weir to the mill for the use of the mill, and the acknowledgment of 5s. had during that time been paid. Till about 1836 the mill was worked by water power only, and from that date by steam power also. The defendant (Bracewell), who owned the land higher up the stream, and who also was in occupation of Tom Milner's Ing, had since 1859 diverted the water from the stream to a mill upon his land, and both detained and consumed it, so that the working of the plaintiff's mill became almost impossible.

At the Leeds Assizes, in 1856, the plaintiff obtained damages to the extent of £250. On an appeal the rule for a new trial was discharged.

† Ebenezer Appleby Nuttall, born in 1861, was for a time curate of Stoke-upon-Trent, and Organizing Secretary for the Society for

In addition to the difficulty caused by his father's views on education, a higher type of education could not be readily obtained in the immediate neighbourhood. Be that as it may, on Enos expressing a wish to go in for practical farming his father sent him to a farm of which he was tenant, "New Ing"* at Bolton-by-Bowland, placing a man and his wife in charge. An aunt also resided there for a short time, but her death removed that link with his family. However, his brother Ezra, his junior by ten years, later stayed with him from time to time, and Enos paid constant visits to his home at Coates.

The neighbourhood of Bolton is rich in historic association. Bolton Hall, once the seat of the ancient family of Pudsay, was closely associated with the fortunes of the luckless Henry VI., who, after the battle of Hexham, wandered into its lonely district and lay concealed there and in the neighbouring hall of Waddington ere he was delivered by treachery into the hands of his enemies. The church, which has traces of Norman origin, contains interesting monuments of the Pudsays; Skipton Castle, not far off, was a stronghold against the Scots; and at Gisburn was a famous herd of wild cattle, almost white, similar to the Chillingham breed.

It is evident, both from brief references in his diary and from his conversation, that the beauties of nature appealed to him strongly; and the sink holes of Jamaica must have reminded him of the swallow holes in Ribblesdale, while Jamaica scenery in its general aspect must have often recalled to his mind Yorkshire with its wide expanse of moors, backed by mountains, its rich meadow lands, its groves of oak and elm, and its winding streams, which he delighted to revisit whenever he could. Bowland Forest, not so long ago a secluded spot, is now invaded by touring motor-cars.

The farm of New Ing consists of about eighty acres

Promoting Christian Knowledge in the North of England; and he helped his brother, the Archbishop, in doing work for the Jamaica Church in England. He was for a time Assistant Editor of *Crockford*. He died in 1903.

* Ing, low-lying land by the side of a stream.

on the estate of Bolton, bordering on the Skirden, a tributary of the Ribble close to the borders of Lancashire, and the house is still standing. Here, while he managed the farm, he learnt all he could. About one-third of his time was devoted to studies of various kinds, with such tutorial help as could be found within a radius of a few miles. He found one friend living in the parish, an Oxford graduate, who helped in some things; and another, seven miles off, to whom he went now and then of an evening, a fourteen-mile walk or ride. He was all this time a diligent attendant at the parish church on Sundays, at the morning and afternoon services, and at the Wesleyan chapel (a small upper room where a service was held) at night, there being no night service at the parish church. In those days the pulpit preaching at the parish church was of the high and dry order. There was seldom anything in it within the comprehension of the farmers and labouring folk, or calculated to arrest their attention. But, notwithstanding very imperfectly developed religious knowledge and experience, he found the worship a continual inspiration and help and comfort. The preachers at the Wesleyan chapel were usually laymen, and good men some of them were, and very competent preachers within the range of their own knowledge and belief. To them he owed his first insight into the full teaching of Holy Scripture regarding personal religion, and especially was he led to grasp and personally apply the precious doctrine of justification by faith.

To use his own words:

> Thus passed several years. With a stronghold of religion, which made it a vital, personal thing to me, I was all the time using and assimilating the sober devotional helps and teachings of the Book of Common Prayer, besides studying, as opportunity offered, some of the old divines of the English Church.
>
> Later on the desire to evangelize became strong, and in meetings and services held at various places in the country round I spoke to others of what I felt and believed to be vital, saving truth. It seems a long while ago to look back to, for I was then only in my teens; but I remember well the crowds that flocked to those

gatherings, and that they were characterized by much interest and very serious impression. I suppose it was the simple reality of those efforts which was their chief attraction, though I suspect something was due to a rather florid, and at times even sensational, style, which those who have only known me in later years would hardly believe could have been natural; but I think it was.

The verger at Bolton-by-Bowland, in 1920, remembered young Enos Nuttall at New Ing and his constant desire to increase his literary education. He also remembered him as preaching in the Wesleyan chapel, which, though no longer used, still stood, with its pews and pulpit, in an upper storey in one of a row of cottages near the village. Here amongst the hills and valleys while tending the cattle the call came to him, the vision of the thing that mattered; and there is a tradition that as a young boy he was found one day in his father's farmyard at Coates preaching to an imaginary congregation from a stone pulpit which he had built. His unusual powers attracted the Chairman of the Wesleyan Society, and he was appointed a lay preacher. At the age of seventeen he preached a remarkable sermon from the text: "How wilt thou do in the swelling of Jordan," almost prophetic in view of the later events of his life. This, it is said, was preached under the yew-tree at Bolton, as the Wesleyan chapel did not offer sufficient accommodation for the congregation. He became famous as a preacher for many miles around, and was in great request for special services, and all sorts and conditions of people came to hear the boy preacher and young evangelist.

He matured early in life both physically and mentally. At this time he was a striking personality, and even then gave promise of a remarkable career. His love of animals, especially horses, developed early. As a child he was found riding a vicious horse which all the men on his father's farm had found unmanageable. His fondness for building and agriculture developed rapidly, and the experience he gained in early life stood him in good stead in later days.

Eventually he became filled with a strong enthusiasm for mission work amongst the heathen. Some friends, who rated his powers high, wished to aid him in preparation for the ministry of the Church, and thus secure for him an appointment (as they had the power to do) to an important post in the North of England.

He said in the memorandum referred to on page 1:

I had no sort of difficulty in regard to the ministry of the Church of England. In fact, I had not taken up any books dealing with the question of the Ministry of the Church, except in so far as it was casually referred to in such of the works of John Wesley as I had then read, these references being chiefly such as assumed or asserted the validity and the importance of the ministry of the Church of England. But my mind was set on preaching the gospel to the heathen, and especially the savage Fiji Islanders, where conditions and needs were then attracting much attention, Ultimately I wrote to Rev. Dr. Osborn,* Secretary, in London, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and offered myself for this special work; and in due course I was accepted for it, as I supposed. But I had an intermediate period of private tuition in London, in the house of Rev. Dr. Kessen,† a retired Ceylon Missionary. This was most helpful to me. Dr. Kessen had begun his school life at Edinburgh at the same time and place as Archbishop Tait. He was a man of broad sympathies and extensive knowledge and experience, and he assisted me in putting together the fragments

* The Rev. George Osborn, D.D., entered the ministry in 1828. He died in 1891. For more than half a century he was one of the greatest men of his church, guiding its policy and shaping its course. He rendered splendid service as a circuit minister. He became Missionary Secretary, and afterwards Theological Tutor at Richmond College, and was twice President of the Conference, in 1863 and in 1881.

† The Rev. Andrew Kessen, LL.D., who was born in Glasgow in 1814, was educated at the University of that city, where he took his degree. The son of a minister of the Established Church of Scotland, in early life his heart was touched under the first Methodist sermon he heard, and from that time he became firmly attached to the Wesleyan Body. At the age of fifteen he began to exhort, and, becoming a local preacher, soon offered himself as a candidate for Foreign Mission work. He acquired the knowledge of several languages, ancient and modern, and was a good mathematician. He devoted all his attainments to the Mission cause. He was, for fifteen years, Principal of the Normal Training Institution in Colombo for native Christian schoolmasters. On his return to England he devoted several years to the training of Missionary students. He died while on a visit to Jersey on the 19th of July, 1879.

AYNHAMS

COATES HOUSE

of knowledge I had gathered in shaping my classical studies, and in commencing fresh studies in new directions, including two Eastern languages. He was strong in mathematics, and therein especially I was an apt pupil. He had not much taste for poetry, and sometimes spoke rather disparagingly of it. Once, when the disparaging words were rather stronger than usual (drawn forth by some new book of poems which one of his daughters was reading) I heard his wife retort: "Ah, Andrew, that comes of your printing that book of poems which nobody could read." Dr. Kessen's wife and children were great readers and considerable students; they all spoke French fluently (I think she was a Frenchwoman, and they had lived a good deal in Paris), and the fact that at certain times nothing but French was allowed to be spoken in the house helped me in my efforts to become acquainted with that language. I have to regret, however, that subsequent work and surroundings for many years so practically separated me from the necessity of using French that it is now difficult for me to read a book in that language.

Dr. Osborn, to whom I have already referred, was very kind to me at this period, especially in guiding and assisting my theological studies. I am informed that he will be largely known to the future readers of Methodist history as a stern conservative and an opponent of most of the modern developments, including some of the schisms of Methodism. I knew him only as the kindest of men, and one of the most thorough masters of the older theology of the English Church that I have ever met. He poured forth rich treasures of truth gathered from these sources, and I hoarded them like gold. But even more beneficial than what he taught was the way in which he opened to me these grand sources of knowledge. We talked of nothing else.

On Sundays I preached and spoke in and around London, wherever I was wanted, or else went to hear the great preachers of the time. But of chief interest to me was visitation work in the cellars of Seven Dials; fearful places they were in those days. The summer time was spent in the provinces where friends wanted me to speak or preach.

One day in November, 1862, Dr. Osborn asked me to go to Jamaica. There had been great, and in some respects mischievous, excitement all over the island in connection with a "Revival." I believe he thought my preaching would exercise, in some quarters where it was needed, a sympathetic and steadying influence. I was taken aback at this request, which came across all my own plans. But considering it to be an indication of God's will concerning me, I said, "Yes," and sailed for Jamaica on the 2nd of December, 1862, being then not yet twenty-one years of age.

CHAPTER II

1863–1869

EARLY DAYS IN JAMAICA

ENOS NUTTALL landed in Jamaica on the 21st of December, 1862. He is recorded in the list of the Wesleyan Missionary Society for 1863 as the third missionary of the Kingston centre of the Jamaica District, and in the volumes for 1864 and 1865 his name still figured in the stations of ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in this centre, but the memorandum below is evidence that he never was an ordained minister of the Wesleyan Church, and enquiries of that body confirm this. He was never more than a lay missionary. In fact, he said specifically in his address to Synod in 1913: "I was attached to the Wesleyan Methodist Mission, in which I worked for three years as an unordained missionary." Of these early days he himself says:

I laboured hard, and I think usefully, in Kingston for three years, under the arrangements entered into when I was sent out from England. I found that the Methodist Society in Jamaica was so worked as not to admit of that association of its members with the Church of England which John Wesley first intended and steadily maintained as far as he could, and which I had been familiar with. I also began definitely to study ecclesiastical questions and the organization of the Church. Two or three years ago in arranging some old papers I came across the draft of a memorandum which I wrote during those years in discussing with a friend the constitutional questions then agitating the Church of England in South Africa. It was of special interest to me to read this forgotten paper, because it showed me how fully I had then studied the subject, and how definitely I had arrived at a view of the case which experience has since shown to be correct.

I do not know at what time I might have decided to sever my connection with the Wesleyan Society if it had not been that what seemed to me undue pressure and authority were brought to bear upon me in a personal matter, and this ended hesitation. At the latest, whenever the question of my accepting Wesleyan Ordination had to be discussed, a decision would have been forced on me. With my experience, training, habits, and predilections, it seemed to me that I was in any case certain to have withdrawn from the Wesleyan Society as soon as it became apparent that allegiance to the existing Wesleyan organization meant separation from, and in a sense antagonism to, the Church of England. Such was not the Methodism of John Wesley, and it can only be defended on principles entirely different from those which he taught. As soon as I was of canonical age I offered myself as a candidate for the ministry of the Church of England.

Into this he was received in January, 1866. He was admitted to the office of deacon at Spanish Town, on the 18th of February, by Dr. Courtenay, Bishop Co-Adjutor of Kingston, the Governor, Sir Henry Storks, and the Commissioners being present; and, so great was the Bishop's confidence in him, that he was ordained priest on the 8th of April at the Parish Church, Kingston. As Island Curate, he was appointed to St. George's, Kingston, then chapel-of-ease to the Parish Church. He had preached his first sermon there (" my probable sphere of labour for a short time ") on the 25th of February. This cure he held nominally* after his election as Bishop, to the day of his death, receiving from Government the emoluments of the office, which he devoted to the church.

In 1866, he commenced a diary which he kept regularly almost to the day of his death. With some exceptions it is, especially in later years, more the methodical record of his engagements than an expression of his views, and contains very little of his family life. The nineteen volumes of which it consists are now preserved in the West India Reference Library of the Institute of Jamaica, in which he ever took a kindly interest, giving

* As Island Curate. The Rev. H. H. Kilburn (1880–1907) and the Rev. J. L. Ramson (from 1907) were the actual incumbents.

readily to it any pamphlets and works of historic interest from his own library.

The first entry in his diary runs as follows:

1866, *February.*—Spent a couple of weeks in the beginning of February at the Rev. Harding's,* Red Hills, and Mr. King's,† Stony Hill, during which time came to Kingston several times to the Bishop's examinations.

On the 12th of March the Rev. George Cheyne, the incumbent of St. George's, left for England, and the new clergyman was left in charge, "with all the duties devolving upon me. O to be faithful."

He soon made his presence felt, not only in the Church but in the social affairs of the country of his adoption. Amongst his early efforts were those made on behalf of the recently founded Sailor's Home, and of the medical relief of the poor, which later resulted in the founding of the Kingston Dispensary. He started and edited a church magazine, which became *The Jamaica Church Chronicle*, and, after a varying career, developed into the *Jamaica Churchman*, and later into the present *Diocesan Gazette*. He threw into his work that thoroughness which was typical of all he undertook. One of his earliest experiences was the daily ministration for some time to two men under sentence of death. After attending them in their last moments he wrote: "Almighty God, send the light into the dark parts of this land, and make us self-denying whose lot it is to labour for the spiritual good of the people," and through a long life he set a noble example of self-denial.

On the 17th of April he rode by way of Woodford to Birnamwood, a "beautiful spot." Then followed a few days of sickness, which, however, was not allowed to interfere more than was possible with work, and this

* The Rev. Richard Harding came to Jamaica soon after emancipation, intending to attach himself to the Church Missionary Society, but the practical sympathy of the Wesleyan body for the recently emancipated negroes led him to join that body. He was a close friend of Enos Nuttall.

† The Rev. F. L. King, at present rector of Snowdon, Manchester.

was characteristic of his whole life; but in July he records: "Have been unable to do much the last fortnight, having an attack of fever which confined me to the house for a week and incapacitated me for the daily duties of two weeks," and a little later we read: "Had a long sickness after this which incapacitated me for three months for all public work and was in many respects a great trial. But sanctified to my soul's good."

On the 14th of March, 1867, he wrote: "Was married (to Lillie, youngest daughter of the late Rev. P. Chapman, Wesleyan Missionary *) at Birnamwood Church, by the Rev. D. B. Panton. May our union be productive of blessing to both."

Appointed at this time permanent incumbent of St. George's Church, Kingston, he then resided at Alpha. His wife's mother had married John Daughtrey, a native of Worcestershire, who had been sent out by the English Government as one of the Stipendiary Magistrates after Emancipation. He later became Inspector-General of Prisons. He died at Belmont on the 11th of November, 1864, aged seventy-nine years, and is buried in Halfway-Tree Churchyard.

The entry for the 31st of December is: "A year of incessant labour and much blessing. Closed with a solemn watchnight service."

In January, 1868, he wrote:

> A crowd of meetings for Church and general purposes, and occupying my time constantly in preparing annual reports, etc., and attending the meetings. Difficult with these things in addition to daily pastoral work to get any time for study, etc.

This is an entry which he could fairly have made on every week-day of his subsequent life, except when he was on shipboard. He ever sacrificed his desire for study to the need of getting things done.

On the 8th of January his eldest son, Ernest, was

* Philip Chapman, born in 1813, was appointed to Jamaica in the year 1836, having previously spent two years at the Theological Institution of the Wesleyan Body in England. He died on the 17th of May, 1843.

born. He became, and was until he resigned office in 1921, legal adviser to the Church of England in Jamaica.

At this time the young clergyman "looked over the *Royal Alfred*, a beautiful ship of over 4,000 tons? What labour and care to keep in order instruments of *Death*. I then observed a lesson to me to polish the weapons with which I must fight battles that are spiritual and *saving*."

From February to October there is a break in the diary, during which period he devoted much time to the reorganization of the Mico Institution, especially as to the method of selecting candidates, he being of the opinion that, "as long as the education of the country is denominational, it seems to me that those religious bodies who are doing the educational work of the country ought to be able to depend on getting a *certain* proportion of students yearly from the Mico as long as they send up candidates that are sufficiently eligible." And this was the keynote of his subsequent view of educational affairs, a keen desire that each denomination should have fair play.

He developed a series of Sunday School and weekly lectures at Cross Roads, carried on chiefly by the volunteers obtained from the St. George's congregation. In November he went to Bishop's Lodge (where King's House now stands) to call on the family of Archdeacon Rowe.*

Ever taking a share in all objects for the common weal, Enos Nuttall attended on the 18th of December a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts, at which the Governor consented on behalf of the Government to take over the Museum, lodging it at Spanish Town for the time being, and promising to bring it to Kingston with the addition of a library at no distant period. He and the Rev. W. J. Gardner† suggested that the proposed establishment should have a public hall attached.

* William Rowe, M.A. Cantab., then Archdeacon of Cornwall, was ordained in 1842, and came to Jamaica two years later. He died at Madeira in 1885.

† Rev. William James Gardner, a Congregational minister and author of a "History of Jamaica" (1872).

On the 31st of December he, having probably done as much as other men in the island for the uplifting of the people, and having given himself less time for recreation, wrote in all sincerity: "Thus ended this year of grace. How little have I accomplished in it! Let me try by the grace of God to redeem the time more carefully henceforth."

In 1869 it was generally acknowledged that the conditions in the Church of England in Jamaica under which catechists received their appointments and performed their duties were unsatisfactory, and Enos Nuttall took a prominent part in drawing up suggestions for improvement. He contributed to "Suggestions for the Better Selecting, Preparing and Appointing the Catechists of the Church of England in Jamaica, with Remarks on Honorary Lay Readers," published in Kingston in that year. There is no author's name on the title-page, but a prefatory note states that the paper had been prepared, at the request of the Bishop and the missionary committee, by the Rev. D. H. Campbell* and the Rev. E. Nuttall.

He also gave considerable thought to the subject of religious exercises of women in the presence of men, on which a good deal of feeling had been created, and he was asked to express his opinion of the scriptural teaching on the subject.

In February, at a meeting of the Mutual Relief Society, he failed to get the Committee of the Society to modify their arrangements so as to bring the advantages of that Society within the reach of the lower class of the poor which he wished to benefit. A committee was therefore appointed to make arrangements for a separate organization to provide medical attendance and other relief in case of sickness.

At Lime Savannah, where the Rev. G. W. Downer†

* Archdeacon Duncan Houston Campbell was rector of Kingston, 1861 to 1872, and then of St. Andrew till 1878.

† Archdeacon George William Downer, after being stationed at Stewart Town, Spanish Town, and St. Gabriel's, Clarendon, was rector of Kingston from 1873 till his death in 1912.

was then rector, he had an interesting interview with a converted coolie. The Rev. H. H. Isaacs * and he decided to recommend him to the committee for missionary work amongst the coolies on the estate in Clarendon. In the meantime they took the responsibility of setting him to work as "the first coolie missionary employed in Jamaica."

In July he went on a missionary tour, starting at 6 o'clock to Scott's Hall, where Mr. Braine† joined him. When they got to Tom's River, within twelve miles of Annotto Bay, they found that the Scott's Hall Church was about three miles' ride up the hills. They waited for some time, expecting that horses would be sent; but, none appearing, they despatched a messenger to say that they were waiting on the road. In about three hours one horse came. But as it was then too late to hold the meeting, beside being impossible to get up the hill with one horse, they sent to say that if horses were provided they would hold a meeting on their way back the following Thursday, which was accordingly done. "Everything in a cold and dead state there I fear. Spoke strongly to them on their own church and school matters."

About this time Disestablishment was, here as elsewhere in the British West Indies, assuming the form of practical politics.

In August Enos Nuttall wrote:

> Mr. Braine and I sat up till 11, endeavouring to draw up an outline of the ways and means of the future church, and something of a programme with reference to disestablishment.

As a result of an interview and correspondence the Governor, Sir John Peter Grant, gave him ten guineas and promised him £200 from Government for a new school, but declined to lay the foundation-stone, where-

* Rev. Hubert Headland Isaacs, M.A., rector of St. Andrew's parish church from 1878 to 1900.

† Rev. George Taylor Braine (later Braine-Hartnell), B.A., rector of St. Andrew's parish church from 1872 to 1878. He returned to England, and died in 1894.

upon the services of General O'Connor, the Commander of the Forces, were sought. On the 17th he wrote:

> Went to Flamstead with Mr. Pierce* at 10 to get Major-General O'Connor to lay the foundation-stone. Reached there a little after 1 o'clock. The General and Mrs. O'Connor received us very kindly. He entered into the project, and promised his services. We had lunch, and I went out with Lieutenant Reitchie, A.D.C., to see Mrs. O'Connor's plantain walk and poultry. Though so hot in Kingston it was very cold here during the showers, and between them, when I walked out, I could walk briskly without perspiration. They who live in the mountains know nothing of heat.

He probably modified this view after a fuller knowledge of the mountains.

In the same month (August) the Nuttalls removed from Alpha to a house in Hanover Street—"A hard day of it: managed to get the greater portion of the things conveyed."

On the 6th of October, after a conference with Mr. Isaacs and Mr. Braine, there was a meeting of the Clerical and Lay Association. Resolutions were passed asking the Bishop to take steps to call a general meeting of the clergy and laity. On the following day at a meeting with the Bishop he and others pointed out the relative merits of two or three plans that might be adopted in settling the Church question. The Bishop seemed to discover that he had previously been mistaken in his ideas of what had been proposed. Nuttall was requested to prepare a paper on the subject for circulation among the clergy, and a week later a meeting unanimously joined in recommending to the clergy and laity throughout the island the consideration of those proposals. Then followed a controversy with Archdeacon Rowe, whose "misrepresentations" of their plans had quite enraged some of the country clergy against Nuttall and his party. He added: "It is hard work to think that it is all obtuseness on the Archdeacon's part. But I

* Rev. W. E. Pierce, B.A., rector of St. Michael's, Kingston.

strive to think he does not mean to misrepresent. What a thing prejudice is !"

On Tuesday, the 30th of November, he wrote:

Letter from Archdeacon Rowe informing me that he has prepared a scheme for Church constitution, etc. It is surprising how a man can denounce as mischievous plans, proposed by others which in a few weeks he becomes the advocate for. I am content for others to have the honour of initiating, if so be that good things required for the Church are obtained. I wrote to the Archdeacon to this effect, that because he had opposed our schemes for re-endowment it would not hinder our co-operating with him in obtaining the self-government for the Church which we proposed to seek.

In December a meeting of clergy was held to discuss the future prospects of the Church. He wrote at the time:

When I got to Central School I found the clergy in a state of consternation, the news having arrived that disestablishment and disendowment were to take place from the 31st inst., and nothing to be saved but life interests of actual incumbents. The few of us who have insisted that this would be the course events would take, have been, up to the present, thought almost mad.

CHAPTER III

1870–1879

DISESTABLISHMENT AND RECONSTRUCTION

WHEN disestablishment took place, the Bishop of Kingston called a convention of the clergy and laity, which met in Kingston in the first week in January, 1870. Some of the laymen had been specially invited by the Bishop, some had been selected by the clergy to represent their congregations, some had been formally elected by the congregations. It was an informal but nevertheless a very good representation of the laity, as is proved by the fact that most of the members subsequently became lay representatives to the Synod formally elected by the congregations. In the absence of any statute empowering the meeting of a synod and prescribing the manner of its election, the convention declared itself a diocesan synod called together by an authority sufficient in the circumstances—namely, the authority of the Bishop, in his spiritual capacity. The Rev. Enos Nuttall was one of those who met the altered conditions in a spirit of confidence and hope. He played an important part in the framing of rules for the future guidance of the Church, then left in a large degree to her own resources, with a body of clergy reduced, by the non-filling of vacancies, from ninety-two to fifty-two. At this time his Wesleyan training stood him in good stead.

In his first recorded speech at Synod, on the subject of voting for lay representatives, he said:

> He came to the meeting in a serious frame of mind, to consider the grave question which the Synod had now to determine.

When he entered the room his mind was not made up as to how he should vote. He had listened with great attention to all that had been put forward by the gentlemen who had already spoken; but in a question of this kind all considerations had to be duly weighed, for the ultimate decision was one of great gravity, and of vital importance, in the future of the Church. Lord Macaulay had said: "The perfect lawgiver is a just temper between the mere man of theory who can see nothing but general principles, and the mere man of business who can see nothing but particular circumstances." He (Mr. Nuttall) wished the Synod to look at this question in the light of that description of what good legislation should aim at. It must keep an eye on general principles in their application to particular circumstances. And it must not hope to be able to meet every case and every circumstance. Whichever course was taken, some cases would not be met. That must be taken which would be open to the least objection.

It was in a serious frame of mind that he regarded all events in his subsequent career, and he ever held that that course must be taken which would be open to the least objection, and the first resolution which he worded and got carried was in the nature of a compromise.

In introducing his Financial Scheme, he stated that it would deal with the funds in such a manner as to combine, as far as possible, centralization with congregationalism. The scheme was unanimously accepted by Synod, and a formal vote of thanks was accorded to him for it.

When it was decided, in the early career of the "Church of England in Jamaica," as a voluntary church, that it was indispensable that the Synod should be held responsible for its own acts alone, and not for the individual opinions of its members expressed in debate, that it was advisable that an authorized version of the proceedings should be published, and that one clerical and one lay member of the Synod, with the Secretary of the Synod, should be a special committee for the purpose, the Rev. Enos Nuttall was the clergyman appointed. A series of fifty volumes of a faithful record of Synod's actions down to to-day forms one of many memorials to his careful work and foresight.

ARCHDEACON RAMSON

BISHOP DOUET

CANON MACDERMOT

ARCHDEACON DOWNER

At the same Synod thanks were given him for his excellent proposition for the establishment of an institution for the training of native agents for the ministry in the country, and in February he became Secretary of the Island Curates' Fund, a post which he held throughout his long career.

In February, too, he contributed to the *Jamaica Guardian* three statesmanlike letters on the subject of Church Reorganization, first controverting statements made in a paper by "one of the highest functionaries of the island" (the Chief Justice, Sir Bryan Edwards), and then proceeding to deal with the work of reorganization. They were signed "Presbyter"—the only instance of his using a pseudonym known to the present writer. They attracted the attention of the Governor, Sir John Peter Grant, who wrote that "Presbyter" was in error in saying that the Ecclesiastical Authorities pressed the Government in December last to pass an Act saying in what way a body of persons should be got together whose decisions the Government would so far act upon as to agree to hand over ecclesiastical property to such persons as that body might declare to be qualified to receive it. The supposition was mistaken. He was quite sure he had never been "pressed" or formally applied to to do this; and he alluded to "the hasty spirits who ruled the self-styled Synod, and who insisted on binding the whole body of the Church to the foundations of a new constitution, in a month's time"; and that the Bishop, he said, was also in error in supposing that he had been asked in December to legalize "the meeting of a Synod," expressly to avoid such difficulties as had actually occurred. But he did, however, remember having expressed an opinion in favour of a meeting of clergy and notable laymen for the purpose of consultation, and of preparing a scheme for the consideration of the body of the members of the Church at large.

The rector of St. George's, to whom the Governor's letter had been handed, replied in a lengthy letter

in which he admitted that the opinion and acts of "Presbyter" in all points of importance in reference to the matter now under discussion coincided with his own, and his explanations might be accepted as if they were those of "Presbyter." He said:

When your Excellency announced in December that the Clergy Bill would not be renewed, I, along with one other clergyman at least, foresaw that the initiatory work of reconstruction would be one of difficulty, arising from the fact that there was no body of persons possessing recognized authority to legislate for the Church as disestablished. The clergyman referred to and myself, with one or two others, occupied, I believe, peculiar ground in our opinions with reference to Government interference in the settlement of the future Church. We were not so Erastian as to suppose that there were no legislative powers inherent in the Church when separated from the State, and that the Church could not act legislatively for itself unless legislative powers were conferred on it by the Civil Government. That view is held by some clergymen and laymen whom I respect, but I consider it a deplorable view. We saw, however, on the other hand, that as the Government had certain duties to perform and certain rights to exercise in respect of the transfer of property, it would be folly to attempt to give effect to *any* theory of the Governing Powers of the Church (whether the theory should be considered moderate or extreme) unless the Civil Government were satisfied that the Body constituted as a Governing Body represented the Church formally existing as an establishment. We therefore requested the Bishop to ascertain from the Government what it could and would do towards creating such a Body, or saying how it should be created, and to urge upon the Government the necessity of making some definite statement as to what it could and would do in the matter. Our view was that the Government might pass a short Bill declaring Synodical action lawful. . . . His Lordship the Bishop gave me and others the distinct impression that Your Excellency viewed the suggestion unfavourably, and that you were not inclined to legislate in any way with reference to the reconstruction of the Church.

This being the state of the case as we understood it, my friend and myself—still bearing in mind that while the Church had inherent legislative powers which the Bishop was competent to set in motion, we had the Government to deal with and to satisfy in respect of certain temporalities—suggested the following course, in several particulars of which we were joined by some of our

clerical brethren. The Venerable Archdeacon Rowe had compiled with great care and judgment Constitutions, Canons, etc., from the journals of Synods and Conventions of various Free Episcopal Churches. These we had, with several of our brethren, subjected to a careful criticism in reference to their applicability to our particular wants. We thought that certain modifications and additions were required, but that the document, as compiled by Archdeacon Rowe, might well form the groundwork of a scheme of reconstruction, and the more so as it had been well circulated in the different parishes. . . . We suggested that this draft constitution should be also in the meantime officially submitted to Your Excellency, with a view to ascertain solely whether such a constitution, if adopted by the Convention, would be one that Your Excellency could recognize in such respects as it was necessary for you to recognize it. It was a further suggestion of ours that when the Convention had met and approved a constitution it should, before separating, adopt and take measures for carrying into effect the following resolutions, with a view to giving validity and authority to the constitution agreed upon. . . . I understood the Bishop then to say definitely that the matter had been brought before the Government, and that the Government considered that all the legislation necessary or proper for the Church was the repealing of certain Acts, and that any further legislation being necessarily somewhat of a constructive kind, would be considered as contrary to the policy adopted by the Government, of making all religious bodies equal before the law. How far the Bishop was correctly representing Your Excellency's remarks in your letter, in which those who ruled the "Synod" are referred to as "hasty spirits," I do not think I can claim the honour, in that I am liable to be charged with the demerit (as the case may be) of being one who ruled the Synod. But I do beg respectfully to disown the imputation of being one of the "hasty spirits," which Your Excellency's letter appears to cast upon me. If there is one thing which I have more than another feared and laboured to prevent it is hasty—that is to say—ill-considered legislation. I do not think, however, that because a thing is quickly done it must necessarily be done hastily. . . . And I would also beg respectfully to remind Your Excellency that prudence and caution are not the only qualities necessary in a crisis. We require judgment and discretion now; but we also require promptness and decision and vigour.

Every day's delay in reconstruction is a dead loss, a loss of living interest and sympathy, which is also money. The impulse of a great movement is required to stir inert masses of men to voluntary action of every kind, especially to voluntary giving. Both in

England and here we shall find *feeling* roused by a crisis, to be a stronger stimulus to one obtaining monetary help than the *principle* that the strong should help the weak, and that Christians should spare no effort to maintain Christ's Church. Events follow one another in rapid succession in England, and if we cannot *very shortly*, as a united Church, make an appeal to the English public which shall have as its basis the fact of a *recent* disestablishment, and on that account stir the religious sensibilities of the people, we shall simply take our position as one of the many begging Colonial Churches, and we shall, I fear, appeal in vain; or nearly so. If we cannot, within an early period, initiate a scheme of finance which will bring our Churches here under a common system and secure unity, and general co-operation and mutual help, we shall obtain a poor and precarious revenue, and we shall lapse into a financial congregationalism from which we shall, I fear, never be extricated. . . .

Your Excellency will therefore bear with me, I hope, in saying that while those who took part in the Synod ought to have seen that to be hasty would be nothing better than the taking active measures to increase the difficulties which were already numerous enough, they could not fail to see also that to be dilatory would be a not less certain and culpable method of bringing disaster upon the Church.

Disestablishment undoubtedly worked for the ultimate good of the Church. That this was so is in no small measure due to the wise direction of Enos Nuttall, and others of the State-paid clergy. Though then only twenty-eight years old, he had so far the confidence of the leaders of the Church, both clerical and lay, that he was selected to interview the Governor on their behalf, and at the interview he held his own with that most dictatorial of governors, as well as he had held it in the correspondence quoted above. His proposals for dealing with the funds met with approval, but there were legal difficulties, as we have seen, in the way of accepting the recent Synod as the recognized Church authority, and its transactions had to be legalized at the second Synod.

On the 20th of February a daughter was born—christened after his mother, Alice Armistead. She died on the 20th of December, and lies buried in Halfway Tree

Churchyard in "a quiet, beautiful spot," near to the place where her father now lies.

On the 25th of April, 1870, Nuttall sailed in the Royal Mail ship *Neva* for England, on the first of many journeys made in the interests of the Church of England in Jamaica, arriving at Plymouth on the 11th of May. He went as one of a deputation, the others being Archdeacons Rowe and Campbell, the Rev. G. W. Downer, and James Harvey, solicitor.

His record of the trip is decidedly condensed:

> During stay in England attended numerous committee meetings of religious societies likely to help Jamaica Church—particularly S.P.C.K., C.M.S., Colonial and Continental Church Society. Preached at Torquay in two churches, at Kensington, Turnham Green, Tunbridge Wells, Rersal, Manchester, Wheathampstead. Attended and spoke at public meetings at Queen's College, Oxford; Birmingham; Willis's Rooms, London; Pavilion, Brighton; Paddington. Saw many private individuals, and wrote innumerable letters on subject of Church. Prepared pamphlets. Wrote article for *Church Missionary Intelligencer* on Jamaica Church and native agency, at request of C.M.S. Committee. Had frequent interviews with actuary on Jamaica Church Fund business.
>
> Embarked on *Neva* at Southampton on 17th of August. Came across a hurricane on 29th and 30th, 450 miles from St. Thomas. Landed in Kingston, Sunday mid-day, 4th of September. Praise God for His mercy.

On his return he threw himself energetically into the work of reorganization, and spent many hours drafting resolutions and reports for the Church authorities. On the 26th of September he recorded:

> From this date to the 15th of October engaged each day from morning to night, and sometimes far into the night and through the night, in preparing the work of the Synod, attending Synod, sitting on committees, arranging and carrying through the press the financial regulations and the first pages of the *Journal* of the Synod.

The first legalized Synod met on Thursday, 29th of September, and was prorogued on Monday the 10th of October.

During the consideration of the Constitutions and

Canons, after a long discussion as to the meaning and operation of a certain article as passed at the previous Synod, various proposals to meet the difficulties in the way of present legislation apparently created by that article were negatived. The result was that business could not proceed.

Enos Nuttall then explained to the Synod that the evident intention of the tenth article was to prevent hasty changes in the constitution, when once the constitution had been definitely settled, but it was not meant to operate in the initial stages of legislation. He showed also that the article itself, according to its own wording, was not binding until confirmed. It was open to the Synod to amend it. He proposed therefore, as the only alternative left, to pave the way for the progress of business, that the programme be anticipated and the tenth article be amended in the way proposed by the Diocesan Council.

This was agreed to as the only way left of meeting the difficulty, if the Synod would not proceed with business under the old article until it could be amended in due course. Having served its purpose the resolution was, with Nuttall's concurrence, expunged at the next meeting. This action is indicative of his habit of meeting and overcoming difficulties.

At this Synod his name went *per saltum* from the bottom to the top of the representatives elected by the Synod to the Diocesan Council.

As a sample of a busy day in 1871 one may quote:

Thursday, 12th of January.—Letters. Diocesan Council, 10 a.m. to 4.30 p.m. Teachers' Meeting, 6 to 7. Mutual Relief Society's Annual Meeting, 7 to 9.

He took a deep interest in the proposed Government College which was afterwards founded at Spanish Town. In March he waited on the Governor as part of a deputation on the subject of the College, the others being Dr. McGill, Rev. W. J. Gardner, Mr. Phillips, Rev.

Mr. Griffith.* The Governor accepted, "to the last iota," the outline and provisions stipulated for in the resolutions which had been sent to him.

In May some time was spent for a change at the Grove below Gordon Town. In July he had a meeting in St. George's vestry, with the Revs. Panton, Isaacs and Braine, on the subject of "How to preach Evangelical Religion in this Diocese," a subject which was ever in his thoughts.

On the 6th of October a son was born, Charles Ewen, now a rector in England.

On the 14th of March, 1872, news had been received by telegraph of the death of the Bishop of Jamaica.† It was decided to send home a memorial praying for the continuance of the Bishop of Kingston's stipend of £1,600, and that Archdeacon Campbell and Mr. Nuttall should go home to endeavour to secure the objects of the memorial by influencing members of Parliament and otherwise.

He sailed for England, with his wife and children, on the 25th of April, in the *Moselle*, arriving at Southampton on the 13th of May. He did a large amount of work in connection with the object of the deputation and other matters of importance to the Church, had interviews with the Archbishops and several Bishops, and attended meetings of committees of different societies. He settled his wife and children at Hay, near Hereford, at the end of June, and returned to Jamaica without them in the *Tasmanian* in July. Bishop Rawle, the recently consecrated Bishop of Trinidad, was a passenger. Both going and coming the deputation went by Barbados, and saw Bishop Parry there.

* William Griffith, born in Yorkshire, came to Jamaica and laboured for over half a century in connection with the United Methodist Church chiefly in Kingston, where he died in 1916.

† Aubrey George Spencer, who was born in 1795, succeeded to the See of Jamaica on the death of Dr. Lipscomb in 1843. He found external aid gradually being withdrawn from the Church, and he therefore strove to consolidate existing churches rather than add to their number. He retired on account of ill-health in 1856.

On the 22nd of October, 1873, a daughter was born, Clare, who devoted, until 1921, when she resigned, many years of her life to Belmont Orphanage, an institution which was very dear to her father's heart.

At the fifth Synod (1873) coming events cast their shadows before. When Synod resolved itself into committee on finance, the Rev. Enos Nuttall was voted to the chair.

In November he had to go to England for his health's sake, and he remained there until the following August. Beyond a little preaching he did no work; living in London, Bognor and Rowland's Castle. On his return he received an address and a purse of £50 from the congregation of St. George's Church. In his reply he said: "It is my desire, if the health of my family and myself be maintained, to spend all my days in doing Christ's work in Jamaica; and the longer I can remain at St. George's with profit to the congregation and justice to my family, the more thankful I shall be." He added the charge of St. Christopher's to his work at St. George's. He wrote: "I was asked to take charge of St. Christopher's with a catechist; perhaps it is to be looked upon as a providential means of enabling me to get my wife and children out of town, and by enabling me to get an occasional country change to prolong my period of service in town."

At that period some of the St. George's congregation expressed their disapproval of the amount of time which their rector gave to general church work, to the detriment of pastoral visitation. He offered to resign, but, after a conference with some of the clergy, he was advised to remain in charge of the cure and to consider the *pulpit* work as his chief duty, and live out of town.

It was agreed by the congregation of St. George's to purchase the "late Orphans' Home" as a parsonage, into which he removed the following year. It stood at the north-west corner of South Camp Road and East Queen Street, where the "Palace" picture-house now stands.

At the Synod of 1874 he was appointed Secretary to the Diocesan Financial Board on account of that grasp of the financial situation which he continued to display throughout his long career.

When it was decided that it was desirable that there should be a Provincial Synod, it was resolved, on the motion of the Rev. Enos Nuttall, "that owing to geographical and financial difficulties in the way of assembling a Provincial Synod composed of Bishops and Representatives of the Clergy and Laity, it will be wise, at least for the present, to restrict the constitution of the proposed Provincial Synod to the Episcopate; and that during the continuance of such restriction the powers of the Provincial Synod of Bishops should be of much more limited character than might be desirable if the Synod were a fully representative one," and this obtains up to the present day.

In that year he continued to visit Stony Hill for change and rest, which afterwards led to his acquisition of his mountain home of Belmont. Though to some the short rest and refreshment would have been dearly bought by the journey up and down, the Archbishop was ever glad to get there; and before leaving Jamaica for a trip abroad would remark, "I shall not see so sweet a place till I return," and on his return would say, "I have not seen so sweet a place since I left."

In August he interviewed Sir William Gray, the Governor, on the subject of Queen's College, Spanish Town. He was asked to put his ideas in writing. This he did, and pointed out that Sir John Peter Grant had ignored in founding the college all the points deemed essential by the Conference which led to its establishment. A little later, he, with the Rev. C. F. Douèt and Archdeacon Campbell, prepared a pamphlet on the subject. Then followed various meetings and a deputation to the Governor, at which it fell to his lot ("much against my will") to answer a large proportion of the questions put by the Governor. "He was cautious,

but seemed impressed with the necessity of doing something in the line indicated. Said he could not hesitate if he could rely on getting students. Asked if we would object to retention of Grant Allen* as a *Professor*, replied, "No." He raised the point whether, in the event of a new *Principal* being appointed, say, by the College Court, with Grant Allen as a professor, other professors might be got in the country, who in case of failure of College would not have permanent claims on the Government. "We thought so."

In January of 1876 Nuttall's old tutor, Dr. Kessen, visited Jamaica, and he had some pleasant talks with him and his wife. At this time he performed many of his duties, "often amidst great weakness." In February, 1876, he was so ill that the rumour spread that he was dead. At this time he took part in the inaugural meeting of one of the many societies the remains of which lie buried in the past, the "Young Men's Christian Association" of that date. But failure in isolated cases never stopped him from doing his utmost to further any new worthy object.

Then followed a period of routine Church work. In addition, ever anxious to take his part in the general improvement of the people, he attended from time to time lectures by Grant Allen, Bowrey,† Colonel Hicks, and others, and even spelling bees at Young Men's Christian Association meetings.

He helped to reorganize Beckford and Smith's School, Spanish Town, and a parochial Temperance Society also engaged his attention.

This year (1876) the Synod was held at Montego Bay. He travelled thither in stages. He started by train to Old Harbour; thence to Mandeville, where he

* Grant Allen (*b.* 1848, *d.* 1899) was professor in 1873-4. His novel, "In all Shades," represents his Jamaica experiences.

† James John Bowrey was island chemist from 1870 till his death in 1897. The son of a missionary, he took a deep interest in the work of the Congregational Church, to which he belonged, and philanthropic work generally.

spent the night. The next day over Spur Tree Hill to Black River, where he attended a missionary meeting. The next day he went over the interior road as far as Welchpool, where he stayed the night, and on the fourth day he reached Montego Bay in time to attend the opening service of Synod at 11 a.m.

Doubts having been thrown on the way in which the work of the Financial Board was being prepared, Mr. Nuttall immediately asked for a committee of independent laymen to report. This was agreed to, but at the same time the Synod desired unanimously to express its perfect confidence in the Financial Board. A little later he tendered his resignation of the secretaryship, but was asked to withdraw it, which he eventually did. On this occasion he gave a speech of two hours' length on finance.

The collection of money for all the purposes of the Church before disestablishment may, in the absence of complete returns, be estimated approximately at £3,000. A similar estimate, based on the incomplete returns sent in to the Secretary of Synod, would show total collections in the year 1876, amounting to not less than £16,000. The amount paid into the Diocesan Financial Board for stipend, etc., has risen, from nothing in the beginning of 1870 to £10,378 in 1876. During the seven years investments have been created amounting to £38,000, of which about £20,000 is from congregational contributions in Jamaica, and the interest thereof. During that period fourteen parsonages have been purchased or built, which, at a moderate estimate, are worth £7,500; of this £3,270 is from loans which are in course of liquidation; and thus the actual acquired estate in parsonages may be set down at £4,230, besides the amount spent on substantial repairs and additions to parsonages formerly existing. During the same period stipends of clergy and catechists have been paid in full, amounting in the aggregate to about £32,000. This amount is very much greater than was expected to be required within seven years—the State-paid clergy having died or retired more rapidly than could have been anticipated. The amount actually paid for annual stipends and current expenses had risen in 1876 to £7,500. The total contributions of our congregations in Jamaica for all purposes (exclusive of school fees) from January, 1870, to December, 1876, may be set down at considerably over

£80,000; and the contributions to December, 1877, will bring this up to a total of over £100,000. The financial result of the seven years, looked at in the light of these facts, is such as to give encouragement and hope for the future.

He returned home from Montego Bay by way of Falmouth, Swanswick, Brown's Town, Moneague, Ewarton and Spanish Town.

In March of 1877 he recorded the first gathering at his house of the society then recently formed of St. George's members for furnishing recreative and instructive entertainments at each others' houses.

On 10th of May he wrote: "Walking home, came by Parade and saw *illuminations* in connection with *first* use of *gas*. Great crowd. Very orderly, and full of astonishment." Soon afterwards gas was installed in St. George's, £102 having been collected by envelopes.

In August he presided at a meeting of an Early Closing Association, and the deputation which went to those storekeepers who did not close at 2 p.m. to try to induce them to do so met with considerable success.

In November the Yorkshire blood in him makes the record: "Horse troublesome; had to take two men and take him for a long drive," and the following day: "Early morning went out with horse to break him." The horse appears to have had his revenge, as for several days afterwards the word "Unwell" occurs in the diary.

On the 20th of June, 1878, he writes: "Doctor told me I must take rest and change at once or utterly and hopelessly break down," and on 15th of August he embarked for New York. He kept a separate diary during his absence which is of interest as giving his first impressions of America. One can but regret that the cares and worries of work prevented him in later years from writing as fully. From it the following is abstracted:

Thursday, 15th of August.—Went on board s.s. *Atlas*, which left the East Street wharf of McDowell and Hankey at 4 p.m. Cleared Port Royal by 4.30.

Friday, 16th of August.—Morning fairer and less breeze. Went

on deck early. The total number of passengers is 17; crew all told (officers and men) 36. Few of the passengers able to be at meals. 4 p.m., Hayti in sight to the south-east; and within 5 miles on to the west is Cape Mayse, with lighthouse, forming the most easterly point of Cuba.

Hours for meals are: Tea or coffee and biscuit when you get up, say at 6.30 a.m. Breakfast at 8.30. Lunch at 1. Dinner at 5.30. Meals much alike in character; good variety of food and plenty of it, though I cannot fancy meat which was shipped as meat in New York when the vessel left, and has been carried about a month in the tropics on ice. No lemonade to be had on board. Ginger ale to be had at 20 cents a bottle, sufficiently large to fill a small tumbler. No bath on board. Those who want alcoholic liquors have to pay heavily for them. They are about double the Kingston prices. Brandy, 8s. a bottle. One good thing, perhaps partly a result of the prices, is that there is very little drinking on board.

There is on board a coloured gentleman, the Hon. Mr. Langston, who is the United States Minister Plenipotentiary to the Republic of Hayti. He is on his way to New York, I suppose on leave of absence.

Sunday, 18th of August.—Fine morning. Had service on the quarter-deck at 10.30 a.m. Most of the passengers present; the greater part of the crew are Irish Roman Catholics, so they did not put in an appearance. Preached from Gal. vi. 7 and 8: "Be not deceived," etc. Had a conversation with Mr. Langston about the condition of Hayti and of the negroes in the Southern States. He seems to have been employed by the United States Government after the war in connection with the Freedman's Aid Bureau, and is full of information, which he imparts with the skill of a practised orator. He was educated at Oberlin, where C. G. Finney was Professor and Pastor. He speaks of Finney in the highest terms.

Monday, 19th of August.—Had a conversation with Mr. Langston about American political affairs. I trace in him an anxiety about the future cohesion of the Union which I have lately noticed in many intelligent Americans.

Had a conversation with an American gentleman on board—Captain Geo. W. Brown, who is now connected with the Central Railroad of New Jersey, as special agent, has had considerable service at sea as a merchantman, and was a captain in the United States Navy during the war. He commanded a company (of marines) which brought off and liberated the slaves from Jefferson Davis's estate.

Tuesday, 20th of August.—We entered the Gulf Stream about

6 o'clock yesterday evening; and from that time there has been great humidity in the atmosphere, making everything very damp. The captain is a Scotchman—Horatio Low, Esq. Evidently an intelligent careful man. The purser is Mr. Mitford—an Englishman, a graduate of Cambridge, and a very nice fellow. I have seen scarcely anything of the other officers. But they seem to be quite steady men, minding their business attentively, which is what one likes to see, especially on board ship.

Wednesday, 21st of August.—Fine cool morning. Several vessels in sight. Our ship going slower; something is the matter, I believe, with one of the boilers. Run this day to 12 o'clock, 228 miles.

At 2 o'clock a pilot came on board, bringing a few *New York Heralds* with him, containing, however, little of interest to me. These pilots come out often very long distances in yacht-like schooners with a crew of four or five men, and carrying three or four pilots, who are left with vessels as they are sighted. Their pay begins at Sandy Hook. Payment according to tonnage. For our ship the pilot gets a fee of $75. Cast anchor in the lower quarantine ground within the New York harbour about four miles above Sandy Hook at half-past ten.

Thursday, 22nd of August.—Came up the river and saw all the sights on each side. Everything fresh and interesting. Plenty of life and activity. The ferry boats and big river steamers were new to me, of course. The rest not unlike in character the entrance to one of our English harbours. Got into dock by 9.30. Examination of baggage took up an hour. The work was done very leisurely—particularly in the case of those who offered no fee. I was one of these. Paid 6s. for conveyance, self and luggage, to Arlington House, 14th Street. Was very tired. Stayed in all day.

Friday, 23rd of August.—Took a cab and went out to call on those I had letters to. Managed to see several who were very kind—particularly Mr. Darrell and the Messrs. Wightman. Went to see Trinity Church. Mrs. William Duff came to see me in the evening. Went with her to see Central Park. She arranged to get me a room at her lodgings, 60, Fort Green Place, Brooklyn, where I can live while in the neighbourhood of New York.

Saturday, 24th of August.—Went to see some publishers about Dr. Croskery's book.* Then went over to lodgings in Brooklyn.

* Hugh Croskery, L.R.C.S. Ireland, F.R.C.S. Edinburgh, was born in 1835 at Downpatrick, Ireland. After serving in the navy as a surgeon, he became District Medical Officer at Chapelton, Jamaica, in 1857. He was ordained deacon in 1871, and became curate to his father-in-law,

In evening went out to make acquaintance with the topography of the place.

Sunday, 25th of August.—Went to Trinity Church. Service choral. Not so much Ritualistic postulation as I expected; elevation of the cup at the consecration; also cup elevated and sign of cross made therewith on administration to each person. Went over to Brooklyn. In afternoon Mr. Ewen called, he having been stopped on his trip to New Zealand, via San Francisco, by hearing at Chicago of the failure of Coltam and Morton in London. As they manage the English business of the estates he is connected with, he returns to Jamaica to make new arrangements. At night we went together, with Mrs. Duff, to hear Dr. Talmage. Text: "All thy garments smell of myrrh, aloes, and cassia out of the ivory palaces." Sermon effective; style of thing much as I expected. The peculiar manner of the *precentor* was too amusing to be agreeable in a place of prayer.

Monday, 26th of August.—Went over to New York. Went to see a celebrated store on 14th Street—Macey's—where everything is kept for sale. Started at 8 for New Jersey City, where we had to take train for Washington at 9 p.m. Had a Pulman sleeping-car. Jolted a good deal, and I did not sleep much. The cars are a wonderful arrangement. I think greater comfort and cleanliness might be secured, however, with a let-down couch and a rug.

Tuesday, 27th of August.—Reached Washington by 6 a.m. Went to call on Mr. Langston, U.S. Minister for Haiti, with whom I had voyaged in the *Atlas*. He showed us to General Eaton's office—the Bureau of Education, of which Mr. Eaton is Chief Commissioner, and to whom I had a letter of introduction from Colonel Hicks of Jamaica. The General had gone away for vacation, but a memorandum he had left secured for us every attention. Dr. Warren procured a carriage and took us to all the principal places, including Capitol, Smithsonian Institution, Agricultural Department, Treasury, White House or Executive Mansion, which is the President's residence, and where we were introduced to President Hayes. He is an intelligent gentleman, simple, courteous, refined in manner. The politics I leave alone, the newspapers I fear will not help a stranger to the truth on this

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the Rev. C. H. Hall, rector of Chapelton, and later priest, but he continued his medical career. "The Gospel of the Kingdom" was first published in 1877, and a later edition in 1878. He also edited the *Jamaica Magazine* and the *West Indian Quarterly Magazine*. In 1878 he started a private practice in Kingston, and attached himself to St. George's Church, and often acted for the rector when Nuttall was absent. He died in Demerara in 1886, whither he had gone in 1880.

subject. We dined at the St. James's Hotel (Dr. Warren being with us) and then we started for Philadelphia, which we reached (going through Baltimore) in 5½ hours from Washington. The land around Washington seems poor. The place itself is well laid out, and some parts are already in good order. Trollope criticized it severely, I am told, some years ago, as a city of mud. The criticism was, as I am informed, not undeserved then, and it has had a good effect. In days to come Washington will be the fit capital of so great a country.

Wednesday, 28th of August.—At the Continental Hotel, Philadelphia, which we reached last night a little before 12. Went out first to Lippincott's great publishing establishment to see about Dr. Croskery's book. After that, went to Independence Hall and a few other places. Left Philadelphia by 11, and reached Jersey City by 1.30. I went through New York in order to call at Maitland Phelps, and then on to Brooklyn. At night went over to see Mr. Ewen and Mr. Batchelor, the latter having expressed a wish to go with me into Canada. Cost of trip to Washington (including railway fare of about £3 for the double journey) was about £5, back to Jersey City, cab included. Somewhat heavy outlay, but should have been sorry to have missed seeing the places.

Friday, 30th of August.—Started by the *Daniel Drew*, day boat from New York to Albany. Fare $2, Mr. Batchelor with me. A very pleasant day. Fine river scenery all the way up. Reached Albany at 6 p.m. Walked about the town a little, and saw some of the buildings—New Capitol, etc. Had supper at a restaurant. Took sleeping-car to Niagara Falls. Train started at 10.

Saturday, 31st of August.—Reached Buffalo at 8. Niagara Falls at 10. We crossed the river by train at suspension bridge to Canada side. The best view of the rapids is, I think, from the railway bridge. We took a carriage, which cost us 6s. each, and drove to all the principal points of interest, walking where we could not drive. Found the Falls and other sights much as I had expected from descriptions I had read and views I had seen. In evening went by train from Clifton to Toronto, reaching latter about 6. Rev. Joseph Williams (from Jamaica) met me at the station.

Sunday, 1st of September.—Went to the Cathedral, Toronto. Simple, hearty service. Morning wet enough to interfere, I was told, very much with the attendance at the churches. At Cathedral a large proportion of men. It is a good building. Dean Grassett preached from, "Son of man, these men have set up their idols in their heart," etc. A good practical sermon. The thermometer to-day was a little over 80, and the rain made it close. I was not well enough to remain at the Cathedral for Holy Commu-

nion. At night I went to St. John's Church, where the clergyman is Rev. A. Williams, and where Mr. Miller of Kingston used (as I find) to be Sunday School Librarian and, for a short time, Superintendent. Mr. Williams did not preach, having exchanged duties with Mr. Langtry, who preached from, "Except ye be converted," etc. Doctrinal views such as those of Mr. Wilkinson of Eaton Square, London. Service simple and hearty.

Monday, 2nd of September.—Took a cab, and Rev. J. Williams and self went to see the principal places—University, etc. Called on several people, to whom Mr. Miller of Kingston had given me letters. Also spent some time with Dean Grassett. Dined at the Rossin House with Mr. Batchelor. Then went out to see publishers for Dr. Croskery's book. Spent some time with Hart and Rawlinson—publishers recommended by the Dean. Afterwards spent a couple of hours at the house of Rev. Joseph Williams, 292, King Street. At 7 went to Vice-Chancellor Blake's, who resides in the north-east of the city, where there are a number of fine suburban villas.

Tuesday, 3rd of September.—Left Toronto by boat *Chicora* at 7, reached Niagara on the Canadian side at 9.30; thence by train to the Falls (Canadian side). Looked again at some of the places of interest. Took train at 2 p.m. for Pennsylvania, via Buffalo, Waverly, and Lehigh Valley Railroad. On the road we stopped two hours at the junction with the Western Railroad, waiting for the train from the west which was to combine with ours. It had been kept back in consequence of an accident to one of the passengers, a gentleman travelling to Europe with his wife and two children. He had gone outside the car on to the platform of the car, which is a common, though dangerous practice; and had been jolted off. The train was going at a good pace at the time, and his fall was not observed by, or immediately reported to, the conductor. The train was eventually brought to a stand, and run back slowly for several miles, search being made in vain for the missing passenger. The road at that point lay through a good deal of marsh; and it was supposed he had sunk in it and would not be seen again, dead or alive. After a fruitless search for an hour and a half the train went on its way, the sorrowing wife and children being left behind at the nearest station. Through the night we made ourselves as comfortable as we could in the ordinary cars, trying that instead of a Pullman car. It rained and lightened and thundered all night.

Wednesday, 4th of September.—Soon after daylight we passed Mauch Chunk, a celebrated Swiss-looking resort for picnics from New York. Reached Allentown at 7, and left the Lehigh Valley train at the junction a mile and a half below Allentown, to take

the train for Reading. This Lehigh Valley is a considerable slate and coal district. Left the junction at 9 o'clock; reached Reading at 10.20; and after staying there 50 minutes, we went in 20 minutes to Wernersville station on the Lebanon Valley Railroad. Found (as is usual) Dr. Smith's carriage at the station, and reached the mountain home at 10.20. Dinner at 1. Supper at 6. Lecture in the parlour to guests and patients by Dr. Smith at 7.45.

Thursday, 5th of September.—Breakfast at 7.30. Scripture read. One of Sankey's hymns sung to piano accompaniment in parlour, and prayer offered, after breakfast, such guests as wished being present. Had a long talk during the day with Rev. Mr. Doolittle, an American Presbyterian Missionary from China, who came here two days ago in poor health.

Friday, 6th of September.—Mr. Doolittle told me of a Chinese convert who had, before his conversion, while in the mission school as a pupil, stolen a censer belonging to Mr. Doolittle which had been presented to him as a relic of idol-worship, and who, at the time of his conversion, without saying anything to anyone, placed on Mr. Doolittle's study table four such censers as the one stolen (one of which he showed me) in imitation of Zaccheus: "If I have taken anything from any man I restore fourfold." The religious beliefs represented among the guests and patients here are very varied. There is a Mr. Ewing, a Presbyterian Minister of this State; Mr. Doolittle, half Congregationalist, half Presbyterian; myself, Episcopalian. There is a Methodist, a Universalist, shrewd and well read in the Scriptures, with whom I have had a talk to-day; an Orthodox Quaker, Mr. Hedley; a precise matronly looking woman, a member of the Society of Dunkards; and a Mennonite from Canada. The Dunkards and Mennonites are much alike, and in some respects are closely allied to the Quakers. The two former, however, use the sacraments; the Mennonites baptize by sprinkling or pouring, and the Dunkards by immersion. There is also a branch of these religionists known about here as "River Brethren," because of the emphatic testimony they bear to the necessity of immersion in a river, following the literal example of the Baptist and some of the Apostles. (There is, I am informed, a branch of this class of religionists called "Homishers," who carry simplicity in dress to this distinguishing peculiarity, that they will not allow anything to be fastened with buttons, but only with hooks and eyes). All these sects observe the custom of their minister washing the feet of the members after the celebration of the Communion, which takes place twice a year, in the Spring and Fall. They all, like the Quakers, are opposed to bearing arms, and the Mennonites also to voting for political officers, or to holding such offices themselves.

I had a long drive with Dr. Smith of four miles, round Cushion Mountain.

Saturday, 7th of September.—Had a long talk with Dr. Hicks about his new periodical, *Health and Life*, which he is about to issue, and some of the articles which he asked me to correct. He is a man of simple, earnest, religious spirit. I fancy he has studied theology as well as medicine, and has done a good deal in the way of preaching. I appreciate much the tone he adopts, in writing and speaking, both on secular and religious topics.

Sunday, 8th of September.—Service in the parlour. I preached on St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh." I think the sermon was a help to some present.

Tuesday, 10th of September.—Left by 10 a.m. train; reached Jersey City a little before 4, and Brooklyn lodgings by 5 p.m. Came direct from Wernersville without changing cars through Reading to Allentown, and by Central Railroad of Pennsylvania via Bethlehem, etc., to Jersey City.

Wednesday, 11th of September.—Went over to New York. Saw several publishers about Dr. Croskery's book, including Appleton's, Pott, Young and Co., and Whittaker. Also sought for sermons for use of Jamaica cathechists. Had a long talk with Dr. Mallory, editor of *Churchman*, 47, Lafayette Place. Then went to see Hon. H. Kiddle, superintendent of city schools. Got some information about the schools, and some books on the subject. Went to see Coney Island at night, a new and celebrated watering-place. There were multitudes of people, and a muster of the 23rd Regiment. Levy, the celebrated cornet-player, performed.

Thursday, 12th of September.—Over to New York. Went to Vandewater School in company with Mr. M. Ramos, whom I accidentally met in the car, and who kindly helped to find the place for me. The school (one composed of the poorer children of the city) was well worth seeing. Discipline admirable. Children marched into general room in good order, to sound of a piano played by a little girl. Went to Harper's and got some specimens of school books.

Friday, 13th of September.—Got Jamaica letters. Was thankful for news as good as I could expect. Went to Barnes's, the school-book publishers, with Mr. E. Whitman. They arranged to send me some specimens for Jamaica. Many excellent ones, particularly geographies. Then at 5 went with the Whitmans and Mr. Iles by boat on East River to Harlem. The most unpleasant weather we have had since I came to this country, so could not see river to best advantage. Still, there were some pretty spots. Various Government institutions are on islands in the river—

viz., prisons, lunatic asylum, home for destitute women, etc. From Harlem we went to the residences of the Whitmans, the two houses being opposite each other in a street on Washington Heights, at the extreme north of New York City, and at present considerably in the suburbs. They have a conveyance which takes them to and from the Harlem wharf, which is a mile and a half from their house.

Saturday, 14*th of September*.—By boat to New York early. Cool, pleasant sail down the river. Arranged for passage by Cunard steamer, *Scythia*, to Liverpool. Cost $80, gold—*i.e.*, about £16. Went over to Brooklyn and then went to Greenwood Cemetery—a beautiful city of the dead.

Sunday, 15*th of September*.—Went over to New York to hear Dr. Tyng, Junr.; text, "Let him deny himself," etc. Sermon much as I expected. He has a little mannerism which requires to be got over; but is evidently a good, thorough-going, earnest man. Went at night to hear Dr. Cuyler in Brooklyn. Sermon on sympathy, from several texts, "Rejoice with them that rejoice," etc. A powerful sermon of a simple kind, much to my taste.

Monday, 16*th of September*.—Went over to Brooklyn and paid a visit to Prospect Park; while though not artistically equal to Central Park, New York, is yet a splendid place for recreation.

Tuesday, 17*th of September*.—Closing up business with Maitland Phelps. Sent off things for Jamaica. Said good-bye to the Whitmans, who had been very kind to me. Over to Brooklyn, said good-bye to Mrs. Duff and the people in the house. Went over to Jersey City. Put up for the night at Continental Hotel. Mr. Batchelor called and spent an hour in the evening with me. From 10 to 12 o'clock there was an "oyster party" of about 150 persons in the hotel, who ate, and drank, gave toasts, and sang.

Wednesday, 18*th of September*.—Went on board the *Scythia* at quarter to 8 a.m. Started from moorings at half-past 9, and got under way by 10 o'clock. Fine morning and the weather continued so through the day. About 45 first-class passengers, whose names are given in a printed list which, together with a track chart of the route, is available for the use of each passenger. At present the vessels are crowded from Liverpool to New York, so many having gone in the spring and summer to the Paris Exhibition. The Cunard line is now running an extra steamer for the purpose of bringing them out.

Thursday, 19*th of September*.—Fine morning. More rolling than there was. Read a little: there is a good library on board, but the passengers take out and return books in such a disorderly fashion there is much difficulty in finding a book one wants.

Run from New York at 10 yesterday up to 12 to-day, 312 miles; north latitude 40° 31′, west longitude 66° 57′.

Wednesday, 25th of September.—Scotch mist. Not much breeze. Among other books have read "Daniel Deronda," McLeod's "Highland Parish," Lord Dufferin's "Trip to High Latitudes," and am in McCrie's Life of John Knox, and Life of Dr. J. Hamilton of London.

Saturday, 28th of September.—We anchored in the Mersey below the bar about 4 o'clock this morning. Landed at the wharf from a tender about half-past 10. Went to Lime Street Station. Telegraph to Mr. Broxap* and Mrs. Daughtrey. Went to see Dr. Taylor of the "Taylor Trust."† Went on to Manchester by train at 1 p.m. and found the Broxaps well.

Sunday, 29th of September.—Got up late. Tired. Went to Wesleyan Chapel close by at 10.30. Visited several Sunday Schools in afternoon. At night went to hear Mr. Knox Little at St. Albans. Very powerful rhetoric, but I think style would gain in force by a little pressing of sentences, and more deliberation of utterance.

Monday, 30th of September.—Went with Mr. Broxap into the city. Saw one or two places of business, and went over the new City Hall—a very fine structure. Went to Cathedral service at 11, which I enjoyed.

Tuesday, 1st of October.—Went with Mr. Broxap to make one or two small purchases. Through Cotton Exchange. At 2.15 p.m. went by train to Barnoldswick. Found father and family fairly well.

Wednesday, 2nd of October.—Went in a drag to St. Mary-le-Gill Church to see my mother's grave, and the old church associated with the memories of childhood. A clear, beautiful, cold morning, very suitable for a visit to the quiet, solemn place. Went to see several old people that I knew. Then by way of Gisburn to Bolton,‡ where I stayed a while. Went through the old church and to the Hall. A delightful neighbourhood. Then drove down the Ribble Valley to Chatburn station, and on to Manchester for the night.

Thursday, 3rd of October.—Paid another visit to Manchester Cathedral. Also went through the School of Art and the Free Library. Stayed awhile in the Exchange Reading Rooms.

* A friend from boyhood. Enos Nuttall never went near Manchester without visiting the Broxaps.

† The Taylor Trust has made liberal contributions from time to time to the Jamaica Theological College.

‡ Bolton by Bowland.

Saturday, 5th of October.—Left Manchester for London. Railway journey 9.50 to 3. Went to Mr. Braine's, Lancaster Road, Belsize Park.

Sunday, 6th of October.—Went with the Braines to the church they attend, Trinity Church, Rev. Mr. Sharpe, vicar. Night went with Mr. Braine to another church. Nothing very special in either sermon. Morning congregation much better than the evening one. The number of people who went away instead of remaining to Holy Communion in the morning surprised me, especially as there had been no celebration at another hour.

Monday, 7th of October.—Mr. Braine went with me to call on Dr. Bowerbank.* Found him laid up with gout. Then went to see the Actuary, Mr. Finlaison, National Debt Office, Old Jewry, and placed in his hand papers respecting the Island Curates' Fund. At night heard J. B. Gough in Exeter Hall: a temperance lecture: marvellous display of oratorical power.

Tuesday, 8th of October.—Went into City on business of various kinds. Went to Actuary. Heard portion of sermon at St. Margaret's, Lothbury, by Rev. W. H. Aitken to business men. Spent an hour at Maskelyne and Cooke's entertainment at the Egyptian Hall, in which, among other things, he professes to expose the methods in which spiritualists produce their representations.

Wednesday, 9th of October.—Went to call on Dr. Kessen at Clapham Road. Did not find them at home. Went to the Colonial and Continental Church Society.

On this visit to England he devoted much time to the Island Curates' Fund, obtaining a grant from the S.P.C.K. and the Mico Training College.

On Monday, 2nd of December, he sailed in the R.M.S. *Nile* from Southampton, and reached St. Thomas on the 16th, where flags were half-mast owing to news of the death of Princess Alice, Kingston being reached on the 20th.

One is often reminded while reading his journal how history repeats itself, and how he was never discouraged by previous failures, but ever anxious to take part in any undertaking having the betterment of the people as its object. On the 14th of February, 1879,

* Dr. Louis Quier Bowerbank, a large-hearted philanthropist, to whom several Jamaica charitable institutions owe their origin. He retired to England about 1876.

he attended a meeting at Mr. Oughton's at 7.30, about a memorial to the Government on houses for the peasantry.

On the 21st a daughter was born, christened Isabel Campbell, subsequently to become his representative, so to speak, in England, and his private secretary on his many visits there.

At this time he, Panton, Kilburn, and others, unwillingly driven in self-defence, by the party union and action of the High Church party at the previous Synod, formed the Jamaica Church Evangelical Union, for the maintenance of the principles they held dear; but a few months later he felt compelled to resign his connection with it, on account of his having become Bishop. In his letter of resignation he pointed out that, though his election had produced no change in his principles, he felt it was necessary for him to be freed from any sectional interests. With his withdrawal the Union lost its vitality.

CHAPTER IV

1879–1893

BISHOP OF JAMAICA

WHEN in January, 1879, the Bishop gave notice that he would at the Synod which would meet in April resign the See, the leading members of the Church, including Nuttall—and it is easy to see that he had an important part in framing it—wrote a letter to the secretaries of the chief Church societies in England to ascertain what chance there was of getting a man from England. It is interesting to quote the following paragraph:

It would perhaps be out of place to enter minutely into the qualifications of a Bishop for this Diocese; but there are some which our situation forces us to dwell upon as essential ones. First, the Diocese is large, and the actual amount of physical exertion which the due oversight of it involves is considerably in excess of what a like space of country in England would call for, nearly all travelling having to be done on horseback or in buggies; hence the Bishop of Jamaica must be of a hardy and vigorous constitution. Then, the Church here needs careful organization and administration. The work of organization has been begun, but much yet remains to be done in applying this to local needs and circumstances. The fact of there being two classes of clergy (one State-paid and the other voluntary) has very much hampered us in the systematic carrying out of our rules and plans in a united manner. But this obstacle time will remove; and in the meantime much may and can be effected by a Bishop, if he possesses the ruling and administrative faculty, and if he be one who is able to gain by personal influence and winningness of manner those who might perhaps be little influenced by the direct exercise of authority. Further, we need not say (for that we know, without our suggestion, you would reckon as an indispensable requisite) that our Bishop should be a man of deep spiritual piety. But

there is one thing we would add of great importance—namely, that our Bishop must be a sound and moderate Churchman. By this we do not mean a man of no decided doctrinal views. Many of us are what is commonly called High Churchmen. Others, again, are decidedly men of the Evangelical School; and, of course, each would greatly prefer a man representing the school of thought to which he belongs. But as we cannot all have our wishes met in that respect, the majority will probably desire to secure unity by obtaining a Bishop who possesses zeal without narrowness, and who, whether an Evangelical or a High Churchman, possesses definiteness of doctrinal view without logical hardness and exaggeration. The Church he will have to govern presents in miniature many of the features of the Mother Church, and happy will she be if she can secure a Chief Pastor who will endeavour to unite in the common work of the Master all men who loyally accept the Church's Bible, Liturgy, Creeds, and Articles—a Bishop who will direct the thoughts and energies of Clergy and people away from those smaller things that divide, to those great essential verities which unite, and which it is the Church's mission to bring to bear upon the heart and conscience of the world around—a Bishop who loves our Church and will faithfully represent her to others in her threefold aspect, as Catholic, Protestant and Reformed.

At this time the Bishop nominated Nuttall his Assistant Commissary.

Synod met on the 17th of April, 1879, and adjourned early in the morning of the 23rd for a day to allow of a special Synod to be held for the election of a Bishop. The work of opposing the proposed election of Bishop Jenner fell to the lot of Enos Nuttall.

Dr. Jenner had been appointed by the general Synod of New Zealand to the newly created See of Dunedin, but, on objections being raised to the appointment, he had resigned. His opponents in Jamaica rested their opposition—to use the words of Nuttall in a letter to *Gall's News Letter*—on his "adoption of doctrines and practices which are believed by the great body of English Churchmen to be contrary to Scripture and the formularies of the Church of England."

It was agreed eventually to ask the English Committee of Reference (the Archbishops of Canterbury and York

and the Bishop of London) to select a Bishop for the Diocese.

Nuttall did not allow his name to be proposed, feeling well satisfied after due deliberation that such talents as he possessed could be made as useful to the Church in a subordinate capacity, and that if a local candidate were to be elected, Douèt, all things considered, would be by far the best man. But he wrote:

I was surprised, considering the unflinching attitude I have had to maintain for years on all questions of principle, bringing me into collision with so many, that I had directly and indirectly unsolicited offers of votes and support tendered to me which, if I had chosen to stand, I had every reason to believe would have carried my election, and which I now know would have done so. My supporters would have been many of those who voted for Mr. Douèt, some of those who voted for Mr. Ramson, many of those who voted for the English Committee of Reference, and even a few of those who voted for Jenner.

But I am still satisfied that I did right. I have now, by the preparation of reports, etc., to see that correct information is circulated in regard to the process and results of this election. The ritualistic party have made what I fear I must designate an " unscrupulous " use of the press.

May God send us a faithful Bishop of Souls.

He thought that the true reason why Douèt was not elected was the fear on the part of some of the coloured clergy and laity that, through the influence of his immediate friends, local and colour prejudices would bias his administration.

In May, he, with three colleagues, Douèt, C. H. Hall, and Joseph Williams, sent a joint letter to the Committee of Reference drawing attention to the facts of the case regarding the bishopric as set forth in official documents and reports.

In view of the recent establishment of a branch of the Young Men's Christian Association in Jamaica, it is interesting to read an entry in the diary of the 4th of June:

Meeting afterwards at Mico Committee of Y.M.C.A. Found this Society has run into debt: attendance poor; interest languid.

One cause, no doubt, want of energetic endeavours on part of principal officers; but main cause the recent facilities offered at the public library and arrangements in progress for creating the Jamaica Institute, as this will do the principal work of the Y.M.C.A. much cheaper to members, and on a permanent basis supported by Government: there seems no reason for longer keeping up the Y.M.C.A. It has served its purpose. Proposed now to wind up.

In that month his curate, the Rev. S. T. Gwilliam, resigned on account of the "development of his views into a decided High Churchman," the Rev. Joseph Williams being appointed in his stead.

In July he received intimation that the Archbishop of Canterbury was ready to bestow on him the degree of B.D., which had been instituted to recognize special services rendered to the Missionary and Colonial Churches. He writes: "The stamps are heavy. I do not know if it will be right for me to spend the money." In November, when he received the letters patent and an address was presented to him by laymen of Kingston with £65 to cover expenses connected with the degree, he wrote: "Very kind and thoughtful of them"; and a few days later: "(Sunday) Wore B.D. hood, and felt very uncomfortable in so doing. Strangeness will pass away."

On the 20th of October he met Bishop Tozer, who had been appointed by the Committee of Reference, on board the *Nile*. On the following day he was invited to dine at King's House to meet him. He did not go, but on the 30th he went to King's House to see the Governor and the Bishop.

In February, 1880, we find examples of his constant interest in all that concerned the well-being of the country. He attended a meeting of persons who desired to form a fruit-preserving company, "which I look upon as an important matter, likely to find light employment for many persons," and a meeting at the Court House, Kingston, on the sanitary conditions of the city.

On the 18th of March he went to a garden party at

King's House to meet the two sons of the Prince of Wales, who were here in the *Bacchante*.

In March Bishop Tozer* announced his intention of resigning on account of ill-health.

The clergy met at Nuttall's house to prepare letters to send to England about the Bishopric. On the 25th of April he wrote: "Bishop Tozer, I believe, sailed in the packet this morning; but not letting any of us know how or when he was going we had no opportunity of saying good-bye." So ended his episcopate of six months' duration.

At this juncture the leading clergy, including Nuttall and his friends Douèt, Panton, MacDermot and Downer, sought the advice of the Bishop of Lichfield (Maclagan) and the secretary of the Continental and Colonial Church Society. In their letter they said:

> There are many of the clergy, and perhaps, at present, a larger number of the laity, who favour the election of one of our local clergy as Bishop; and we have one or two clergy who are thought to possess many of the qualifications which we need in a Bishop, besides having this further recommendation that the salaries which they are in receipt of from the Government, being continued to them, would aid considerably in meeting one of our principal difficulties about a Bishop, which is the furnishing of a sufficient stipend. There are others of the clergy, and a proportion of the laity, who would prefer to have a Bishop from England, if a suitable one can be obtained; believing that an earnest, spiritual-minded, and judicious clergyman from the Mother Church, bringing as he would freshness of view, a hopefulness undimmed by wearying experience, and a judgment unweighted by any pre-conceptions of persons and causes, would, other things being equal, exercise a greater weight and uniting force among us than would be likely to attach to a man of the same capacity, but chosen from Jamaica. On the whole, our opinion is that a considerable majority of the Synod would vote in favour of the election of a suitable man from England if such a one were nominated, and they had confidence that he would prove to be *what we need in a*

* William George Tozer's work as Bishop was done in connection with the Universities' Mission in East Africa, during which period he experienced a severe sunstroke, from the effects of which he never fully recovered. He died at Exeter on the 17th of June, 1899.

Bishop; but a large number of these may be expected ultimately to vote for a Jamaica clergyman whom they know, and can trust, if the only other alternative is to incur the risk of electing a stranger whose qualities are untried, and whose name comes before them feebly recommended.

It is the wish of nearly all the members of Synod whose desires can be ascertained within the time at our disposal, that some attempt should be made to discover whether we can obtain a Bishop from England, and various methods have been suggested for making the needful enquiries; but at last it has been deemed best to leave to us the undersigned (acting in our individual, and not in our official capacity, but still believing that we represent the wishes of our brethren of the clergy and laity as aforesaid) to conduct such correspondence as might seem most likely to lead to the desired result.

Nuttall also consulted Bishop Courtenay, who, writing from Caddenabia on June 1, 1880, said:

I received your letter of the 8th of May here yesterday, and by the time this reaches you I expect to be in London. I shall have held the Chaplaincy here for three months, after which, as is now arranged, I *resign* it. I shall be in or near London during, and indeed *after*, July, and if it should happen that negotiations are then in progress respecting some English clergyman as Bishop for Jamaica, I hope I shall have heavenly guidance as regards the part which I ought to take.

The more I consider how great are the difficulties which the most able man, destitute of all local knowledge and experience, would have to encounter in a diocese like Jamaica, and how very possible it is, humanly speaking, that the person selected might prove in some respects unequal to his task—unable to live on his small income*—unable to endure the climate and the bodily fatigues—not a man of business—not of mind and heart flexible enough and sympathetic enough for him to appreciate and cordially accept what *we* know to be the best ways of working on, or working with our people . . . the more do I incline to the opinion that the election either of Mr. Douèt or yourself would be best for the welfare of the diocese.

But much would obviously depend upon the willingness with which those of the clergy and laity who had declared their preference for one would submit to the authority of the other, if elected as their Bishop: and of this I can hardly judge. I hope, however, that their late painful experience would incline them to welcome

* £500 per annum.

either of you, and it may be that such was the *Divine Design* in permitting such a "strange thing" to happen to a diocese which had been the subject of so many earnest prayers.

I have received two numbers of the *Jamaica Churchman* and shall order the rest. Those I have contain nothing but what sound and moderate churchmen who would disclaim for themselves the epithet—"Evangelical"—as you know I should, would nevertheless cordially approve, and I do not see any reason why, if all future numbers are of the same character, the paper should not be taken by all but the avowedly ritualistic few as the exponent of their views. . . .

Mrs. Eyre tells me that Sir Anthony Musgrave paid them a visit at their house in Oxfordshire lately and that he said the clergy had better ask Bishop Courtenay to go out again, to which she replied that she thought I had earned a right to rest. I think so too: but my desire to serve the Church in Jamaica in any way that may be in my power is not diminished.

Five clergy (C. H. Hall, John Campbell, H. M. F. MacDermot, G. W. Downer, D. B. Panton) issued a circular, aiming at securing the election of either Douèt or Nuttall and pleading for united action in supporting the one or the other, and inviting votes. In answer to independent enquiries made in England by clergy several replies recommended the election of the Rev. Benjamin Meredyth Kitson, organizing secretary of the Additional Home Bishopric Endowment Fund, but his name was not submitted to the special Synod which was held in July. After a prolonged and somewhat heated discussion over the three nominations—the English Committee of Reference, the Rev. C. F. Douèt, and the Rev. Enos Nuttall—Nuttall was elected by Synod to the vacant See. The Clergy and Laity who had opposed his election—many of them destined to become his warmest supporters—came forward with a whole-hearted address of welcome. The election was thus made unanimous. He wrote:

It was an affecting scene. Hardly a dry eye in the Synod Hall. A very solemn responsibility for me, which I do not know how to undertake. God help me.

And on the following day, by a unanimous vote, a request was forwarded to England to the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate him.

There were at that time seventy-five clergy, of whom thirty were State paid.

After a short interval of routine work and preparation he, accompanied by the Rev. H. M. F. MacDermot,* left Jamaica on the 9th of August in the *Moselle*. He was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral on St. Simon and St. Jude's Day, the 28th of October, 1880, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the Bishops of London, Winchester, and Rochester, and Bishops Parry and Claughton, Bishop Courtenay, and the Bishops of Nassau and Trinidad, and Antigua. Bishop Rawle of Trinidad, having fainted during the Litany, did not join in the laying on of hands.

The newly consecrated Bishop spent some time successfully in England in seeing secretaries and committees of societies and other persons likely to be interested in Jamaica, with a view to obtaining help to meet the ordinary wants of the Jamaica Church, and the special needs caused by the hurricane of the 18th of August. On his return to Jamaica his comment on his first Synod, which lasted five days, at which the Rev. C. H. Hall† died suddenly while addressing the members, was, "A busy, practical unanimous Synod."

On the 21st of December, St. Thomas's Day, he held a Confirmation at Halfway-Tree Church: "This is my first Confirmation. A solemn and affecting season to all."

In the following week he moved into Bishop's Lodge, which had been acquired when the original Bishop's Lodge became King's House. It was previously known as "Islington."

In 1881 he commenced those series of visitations to all parts of the Diocese, which continued throughout

* Henry Miles Fleetwood MacDermot, born in Jamaica in 1837, was created a Canon in 1899. He held successively various livings in Kingston, St. Andrew and elsewhere. He was examining chaplain to the Bishop. He died at Montreal in 1918.

† Charles Henry Hall was the senior clergyman in the service of the Diocese. He was ordained in 1833. He was for a time rector of Vere, and also of St. Dorothy.

his episcopacy so long as will power was able to overcome unfavourable conditions of health. One entry on the 1st of July may serve as an example of many:

Went to Porus for Confirmation. Confirmed males 25; females 34. Total 59. Gave a brief customary address before the confirmation. Afterwards a lengthy address on the nature and objects of the ordinance: the reasons for its observance in the Church; the duties of candidates and of old Church members. Afterwards met Church Committee. Promised £10 to schoolmaster's house conditionally on an effort being made by the people.

In this year Dr. Tozer, who had not resigned the episcopal powers and duties in British Honduras when he retired from Jamaica, did resign them. In assuming these duties, Dr. Nuttall, in a lengthy address to the members of Synod, the members of the Representation Body, and other members of the Church of England in British Honduras, pointed out that a serious flaw in the constitution of British Honduras as a separate diocese was the independent local action in legislating for the Church; and this flaw he subsequently laboured to remove.

In June, at a meeting of Ministers of Religion at the Municipal Board Office, Kingston, held with a view to forming a Charity Organization Society, he took a prominent part. The chairman (Hon. H. J. Kemble, Custos of Kingston) stated that Lady Musgrave had taken a deep interest in the subject, and the Bishop explained that he had been in communication with her.

In September the Governor, Sir Anthony Musgrave, asked him to take a seat on the Jamaica Schools Commission. He wrote:

My own experiences tend to confirm the view that committees, boards, and commissions, may ordinarily be described, without injustice, as modern arrangements for facilitating the interchange of opinions and for the prevention of active work.

If you think there is a chance of the Schools Commission really doing something in the cause of higher education in this country I shall be glad to give what assistance I can.

To this Sir Anthony replied:

In the main I hold the same views which you express with regard to committees, boards, etc., but apart from the many popular

objections to "one man government," the practical difficulty exists that one man cannot do everything, and I think that perhaps less friction is caused, in the shape of newspaper opposition and that kind of obstruction, by seeking assistance from a well-constituted commission, than by confiding the service it is hoped that they may render to any one paid official. I am sure that you will be able to afford most valuable help as a member of the Commission, and I shall be very glad to appoint you.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the value of the work which he did during his long connection with the Schools Commission.

On the 26th of June, 1882, he wrote in his diary: "B.C.I., which letters I intend to use to signify business, correspondence, and interviews, which form so large a proportion of each day's duties." And these three letters occur with great regularity through his diaries.

In reply to the Bishop of Guiana on the subject of the proposed Provincial Synod, he said:

. . . I will only now say that, while I should be glad if it were possible to see a large Provincial Synod embracing the Bishops and a good representation of the clergy and laity of the West Indian Church, I have always, in our Synod, maintained that such an organization is not practicable for the West Indies. I have at the same time maintained that the formation of a Provincial Synod composed only of Bishops would be of the utmost service to the West Indian Church, due provision being made for the preservation of diocesan rights and liberties, and for appeals to England in important causes. I gather from your Lordship's letter that it is your desire (as it seemed to be that of the West Indian Bishops I met in London) to proceed on these lines; and I shall therefore have great pleasure in assisting to establish the Provincial Synod and in furthering its work. I also venture to say on behalf of the clergy and laity of Jamaica, as well as on my own account, that it will give us all very great pleasure if Your Lordship can arrange for the first meeting of the Provincial Synod to be held in Jamaica, in accordance with the invitation formally offered several years ago by our Synod; and we shall do what we can to make the visit of the Bishops pleasant to them, while hoping that it may also be, in many ways, beneficial to us as a Church.

In July he, as the nearest Bishop of the English Church, called the attention of the Archbishop of

Canterbury to the needs of the English-speaking people on the Isthmus of Panama in regard to religious ministration. He concluded by saying:

. . . I do not know what are the limits northwards of the operations of the South American Missionary Society, nor whether Bishop Stirling of the Falkland Islands is supposed to extend his labours as far as the Isthmus. It will be understood that I am not desiring to intrude into another man's sphere of labour. I only call attention to the necessities of the case. My own opinion (as expressed some time ago in reporting to your Grace on the Church of England in Honduras) is that there should be a Bishop of British Honduras, possessed of means and facilities for extending his labours as Missionary Bishop among the numerous English population in various towns and cities of Central America, now entirely destitute of the ministrations of their Church. It would be a cause of great thankfulness if the present spiritual necessities of the English on the Isthmus of Panama should become the means and the occasion of arousing British Christians to an interest in the spiritual needs of their brethren scattered over Central America. . . .

And in succeeding years he devoted a large amount of time to directing affairs in connection with Church work on the Isthmus.

In writing a long letter to Bishop Courtenay, with whom he maintained friendly relationship till that prelate's death, in August, 1882, he concluded: "You will have this satisfaction, that your successor is not engaged in pulling down anything that you have builded; but is labouring to extend and strengthen the work on the foundations already laid."

In August he sent to the printers the final proof of the regulations for the Jamaica High School (now the Jamaica College) which had given him considerable trouble; and in that institution he took a very deep interest to the day of his death.

In writing to a newly arrived clergyman in a country cure who had difficulty with a neighbouring clergyman of another denomination, he said:

You have acted wisely in quietly withdrawing under the circumstances you relate. It is apparently a clear instance of sectarianism

in the worst sense. I am afraid our Church has in many instances been guilty of the like in former times. Nothing is gained to religion by such acts of intrusion as your neighbour is now committing.

Our wisdom is to strengthen our position in ground which we have actually occupied, and to press into unoccupied regions where we shall not be interfering with the work of others. If we work thus for God's glory and the people's good we shall have a blessing which will make our labours fruitful. . . . .

In November, in writing to his Commissary in England about getting a clergyman for Belize, he said:

. . . But the truth is that for some years past a considerable proportion of the ordinations in Jamaica were of men born in the country of somewhat inferior attainments and social position. There were no effective and continuous means at work for selecting and training men in Jamaica, or getting a good selection of men from England. In the two years previous to my election as Bishop there were scarcely any additions to the staff. This will enable you to realize what a deficiency there is just now of good men of about six or eight years' experience with sufficient attainments and abilities to take the post at Belize. We have many useful men among those ordained in the period to which I refer, and one or two who will make their mark, though for one reason or another not suitable for the Belize work. With God's blessing the efforts now being made to select and train men (and in the meantime to fill up the ranks with men carefully selected from England and elsewhere) will result in a different state of things from that above described in three or four years. At present I do not know a suitable man in Jamaica for the Honduras work who is also available. But if you cannot get a man from England I must see whether it is possible, even by a violent wrench, to detach a man from the Jamaica work for this post.

On the 11th of December a fire broke out on the wharf at the back of the church office (at a quarter-past 1 p.m.) and spread with great rapidity. There was just time for the church papers to be saved. The fire raged and spread through the afternoon and night, devastating the greater part of the business section of the town and other portions in the western section of Kingston. On the 12th the Bishop arranged with the Governor and the Custos for a public meeting to organize

relief for sufferers by the fire. The Committee which was appointed met under his presidency. His paper entitled, "The Reconstruction of the City," read at a meeting of the Fire Relief Committee, is dated only nine days after the fire.

During this period the words "relief work" appear daily in his diary. On the 24th of December he records the arrival of the Rev. J. B. Ellis* from Barbados.

The entry in the diary of the 12th of January, 1883, does not say much in favour of the six clergy concerned: "Went to St. Faith's Church. Re-opening service. A wild day. Hard journey. Fair congregation. None of the six clergy expected came. Home by dark."

On the 7th of February, "Ash Wednesday," he left on the *Ceto* for Honduras, to look into the ecclesiastical affairs of the colony.

On the 10th the ship got to her moorings about two miles from the town of Belize. He and the Rev. H. H. Kilburn, who accompanied him, took up their quarters at Government House as the guest of the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Harley.

On Monday, the 12th, he writes: "Already I have become painfully aware of the sadly divided state of the Church here. Things are worse than I expected." After a long interview with the Governor the latter called a meeting of his Executive Council, with a view to the summoning of a meeting of the Legislative Council, to pass legislation on Church matters. At a meeting of the Representative Church Body, the Church Bill was discussed. The Bishop heard their views, combated some, and promised to get others embodied in an amended Bill. He found that several of the official members, however, were opposed to the passing of the Bill, chiefly as the result of past misunderstandings with the clergy, and present mistrust. Whereupon he had private interviews with members of the Legislative Council, with a view to

* For many years tutor of the Theological College and Secretary to the Diocesan Council and Financial Board, and author of "The Diocese of Jamaica."

meeting objections to the Bill, "with some success." He then prepared amendments to the Honduras Church Canons, and had interviews with various officials who were opposed to any Church Bill being passed.

He met the Acting Attorney-General, Dillet, to make final arrangements with regard to the Church Bill. He notes: "It was well I did. I was able, by sending pencil notes to the movers and others, to prevent some amendments from being mischievous." The Bill passed: "A good work accomplished as I hope: if not worded just as I wished, I think satisfactorily deals with all main points, and leaves the Church free to do its work."

After much preparatory work the Synod formally met for business in St. John's vestry. All the members were present, four clergy and himself and seven lay members, when the Canons were adopted and several resolutions were passed.

On the following day he was engaged all the afternoon with candidates for ordination and others. A church meeting was held at St. John's, which he addressed for an hour and three-quarters on all Church matters, and gave decision as to how the work of the Church was to be done there and as to ritual to be used: he explained the new Canons and appealed for school building funds.

I promised from Christian Faith within six months, if they raise what is needed, £50 towards the school building, and, similarly, £50 towards the mission building at Orange Walk. Both to be vested in the corporate body. I do not expect that my decisions in ritual and other matters will give immediate satisfaction to any large number. People here are very divided: the divisions are so numerous and regard so many little matters of a personal as well as public character that they are distracting. The arrangements that I have made are right, however; if the clergy now follow matters up judiciously, peace will soon be restored and progress commenced.

Amidst all this hard and worrying work one is glad to read:

After lunch, Governor, self, Mr. Kilburn, and Mr. Wilson, went in the Governor's barge with six men, rowing up the river from

Belize to beyond the overhaul in the old river, about thirty miles. Quite a piece of the new world. Bush and river life to perfection. In charge of the ferry at overhaul we found an Irishman and his wife. Real backwoodsman. Genial. Surrounded by pigs and poultry. Home after dark.

After three or four days given up to seeing public institutions, returning calls, receiving deputations and addresses from people who were "certainly kind and appreciative," the Bishop and Mr. Kilburn left on the 2nd of March.

On the 5th they made the entrance to the Mississippi at 5 a.m. and spent the day in sailing up the 120 miles of the river to New Orleans, reaching the wharf at 8 p.m. He found it interesting in many ways, "old plantations numerous: cultivation being resumed; passed several forts; General Beauregard's house. Orleans wharves from river by electric light very imposing." Five days were spent here before a ship could be got for Jamaica.

He was interviewed by the *Times Democrat* reporter, by the special editor of a religious paper, and by a representative of *Picayune*, and he seems to have been happier in his interviews than some travellers, doubtless due in great measure to his unusual clearness of utterance. Of the *Times* report, covering a column, he wrote: "Some blunders and omissions; on the whole correct."

The proprietors of the same paper sent a carriage and one of their staff to show them places of chief importance in the city. Dr. Landau (a German botanist who was on a three years' tour) went with them.

Saw most parts of the city, public buildings, etc. Spent some time in the Roman Catholic Cathedral. It is difficult to know what idolatry is if such that we saw there be not idolatry. Such is the ungodliness, vice, and atheism of this city that one cannot but feel a deep interest in any well-meant effort to bring men to the knowledge of God through Christ, however erroneous the method; but I see little room to expect beneficial results from many of the methods of the Church of Rome.

He called on the Bishop (Galaher) of Louisiana, who had been ill in bed and not able to call on them. He

heard much of his troubles as to getting men and means for the work of his diocese. He spoke with him about work in British Honduras, and arranged for ordination of men when necessary by the Bishop of New Orleans for British Honduras, if suitable candidates could be found in the States or elsewhere, who would be satisfied with this arrangement.

On the 10th they left in the *Margaret*. On Sunday, the 11th, he wrote: "This the day of the great storm predicted by Professor Wiggins of Canada, which is to be specially bad in the Gulf of Mexico. Not believing the prophecy, we were not anxious." George Town, Grand Cayman, was reached on the 15th. Dropped anchor in Port Antonio at midnight on the 16th.

On the 16th of April the foundation-stone of the new Jamaica High School (late Walton) was laid at Hope by the Governor, Sir Anthony Musgrave. On the 30th, at a meeting of the Schools Commission, the Bishop was appointed Chairman, the Chief Justice, the first Chairman, being ill and the Vice-Chairman (the Attorney-General) being off the island. He writes: "Much of the business of the Commission is backward and needs to be pushed on. It is hard work having to push on everything and act the part of a slave-driver wherever one goes."

In May he attempted to deal with a difficult matter of ritual at St. Andrew's, Gilnock. All the clergy of the parish were present. He spoke privately to the Rev. M. M. Deurwaarder, on the subject of the illegal Ritual complained of by the congregation, with whom he had previously had correspondence, in which the Bishop had displayed much forbearance. The offending priest would yield nothing to these private entreaties, nor to those of Archdeacon Ramson and the other clergy present. In the church the Bishop explained to the congregation the Church's ritual principles, as set forth in prefaces to the Prayer Book.

On the 2nd of June, he wrote to the Rev. D. B. Panton, rector of Mandeville, with reference to the proposed

enlargement of the church. His letter is typical of the minute care with which he went into every matter he took in hand.

1. It is far from certain that the population in and immediately around Mandeville will grow. Trade is shifting its centres, and the land near by is largely in the hands of a few persons.

2. Only a clergyman of special influence, gifts, powers of work, and means of travelling (like yourself), can be expected in these and in future times to secure the attendance of people on a Sunday at one centre from great distances. They will only do this under the influence of very efficient work among them during the week, and of very attractive and influential work and services at the central place on the Sunday. Such exceptional influence and power cannot be guaranteed for the future.

3. Alterations made in the church now should be such as will at once meet present necessities, and at the same time most readily adapt themselves to the future requirements of the congregation, whether the congregation increase, decrease, or remain stationary.

4. It is desirable also to let the enlargements and improvements be so made as not to leave at any one time a heavy debt, or unduly cripple the resources of the church for other purposes.

5. There are some faults of proportion and of general construction in the present building which cannot well be got over without an enormous outlay, or else a reduction in the accommodation. Neither of these is desirable. You will have to be content, therefore, with an approximate best.

6. In my opinion, to put on the said aisle at the south and an apse to the east would yield the maximum of attainable improvement at the present, with the maximum of adaptability to future unforeseen requirements, and at the maximum of cost.

(*a*) If you lengthen the church as it is without adding a south aisle this will necessitate a future addition of the south aisle whether needed or not or else leave the church permanently lop-sided.

(*b*) It is very doubtful whether a church so constructed could be intelligibly ministered in by an ordinary, or rather, I should say, an average man. The majority of clergymen would, I think, not be heard from the east end over the whole church.

(*c*) If the apse be added to the south aisle the proportions of the church will be much better than they are at present, while the clergyman will be nearer to the people and capable of making himself heard. If in future, from any cause, the congregation diminishes, taking down the gallery and opening up the tower will make the proportions of the church fairly satisfactory, and

the appearance good, at small expense. If the congregation continues, the eyesore of the galleries may be borne with for the sake of securing needed accommodation. Souls, after all, are more important than architecture. If, when you have met your expenses for these improvements, and the circumstances of the parish will allow of it, you wish to improve the church still more, then you can take down your galleries and open up the tower, and make an addition to the east end of the church. If this rather remote and somewhat doubtful contingency should arise you will have the satisfaction of having in the meantime had the benefit of all the previous improvements, and undertaking the further work when you are prepared to pay for it without undue pressure, and the only loss will be the taking down of your apse and replacing it at the extended eastern end of the building. Material being there and good, thirty or forty pounds would cover that loss, if loss it can be called.

In July he was in Portland. He held meetings of the Parochial Council, Education Board, and Missionary Committee, and formed a Parochial Teachers' Association "Organized all these, no proper work of the kind having hitherto been done." On the 8th:

Started from Port Antonio at 6 a.m. Rio Grande still high enough for water to run through the buggy. Got safely over. Reached Annotto Bay Church (which I wanted to visit) in time for service. Reached Stony Hill before dark. Saw large numbers of people everywhere who had not been and apparently were not going to service. Much need for our outstation work.

On the 27th he had an interview with the Rev. Mr. Butcher, Superintendent of the Wesleyan Missions, respecting a proposed memorial to the Government for establishing a Training College for female teachers. This resulted in the founding of Shortwood Training College.

In August he devoted his attention to the subject of the revival excitement in the parish of Manchester. At a meeting in Mandeville church the rector, Rev. D. B. Panton, the Rev. Mr. Seiler (Moravian), and others, gave evidence of the nature of the revival movement in various parts in the parish and its moral and spiritual effects. The preponderance of evidence seemed greatly

in favour of the movement as directed in this parish. Manchester has from time to time been the centre of the visitation of delegates from the Keswick Convention.

On the 16th of September the Bishop preached in Montego Bay Parish Church a sermon which was fully reported in the local newspaper, the *Nineteenth Century*, "an unusual example of journalistic enterprise."

At this time he gave a good illustration of his power of combining *fortiter in re* with *suaviter in modo*. He said to a certain church committee:

> . . . You will excuse me if I say that I notice in some correspondence which has come to me directly, and some which has come before me indirectly, a tendency (which I hope will be carefully guarded against in future) on the part of the Church Committee, as well as some other committees elsewhere, to assume responsibilities and authority which are in excess of the powers conferred upon them by our Canons. Try to keep in mind in your joint as in your individual action, that while lay help, according to Canon, is always a blessing to be thankful for, the Church committees in the Church of England occupy a very different position from that of Deacons and Elders in other religious communities.

He, early in his career as Bishop, took a leading part in drawing up the constitution and Canons of the Provincial Synod, which first met in Jamaica in the October of 1883. The various West India Bishops (Antigua, Barbados, Trinidad, and Coadjutor of Antigua) came here for the purpose of constituting it. It sat for business for ten days, relieved by trips to Castleton and Newcastle. And he then foreshadowed that influence which he later wielded to good effect in the province as a whole.

It is of interest to read the opinion of one of the visiting Bishops. Bishop Rawle is quoted in his Life* as saying:

> On board "Para,"
> *27th of November*, 1883.
>
> So our business is over, and the province of the West Indies floated ship-shape on the waters: the pamphlet which I have sent to your father will bear witness to our diligence and the business

* "Bishop Rawle: A Memoir." By his executors, George Mather and Charles John Blagg, London, 1890.

way in which we have done our work. It has been a delightful time with us, nothing from beginning to end but what was pleasant and loving. The conviction grew upon each of us Bishops that we had the guidance for which we daily asked; for in all our consultations there was the harmony which is a feature of the wisdom that is from above. Of the Bishop of Jamaica we formed a very high opinion. The business shape into which our proceedings fell is mainly due to him; he showed remarkable power in grasping the points of a subject, and getting them into clear statement. And my Codringtonian, the Bishop Coadjutor of Antigua, made a first-rate secretary, his skill in taking the minutes being largely due to the practice of taking down in perfection my lectures, for which he had a name at college. The MSS. which you know of my articles on "Sacrifice" were copied from his writing.

And we have been so happy with each other, lots of fun and brightness. If there were no other result of our Synod than this brotherly intercourse and good understanding it would be worth all the cost. Our Primate has been forty-two years Bishop and is the senior of the Church of England Episcopate. He is much over six feet, and as erect as a cabbage palm; if he bends at all, it is rather backwards! It was on his seventy-sixth birthday that we elected him Primate: and he surprised everybody by his activity and readiness for everything.

Of course we were utilized for sermons. I preached five, besides the closing one last Saturday: and there was a meeting for the Pongas Mission, at which a schoolroom holding eight hundred overflowed into the adjoining church, both being filled; and as soon as the speaker had finished in one building he had to pass into the other, and take up his parable again. . . .

The following is one of many letters of counsel and admonition which the Bishop wrote to members of his clergy, all giving evidence of much patience and forbearance:

I have received your letter of the 29th of October. I recognize therein (in the tone and spirit of it) an apparently sincere desire to meet the wishes of those who are in authority over you; but that (after all I have said to you and written to you) you should make the proposals and suggestions which your letter contains makes me despair utterly of your ever being made to understand the very first principles of what would be your duty as a clergyman responsible for the management of a parish.

I must request you to take care that none of the petitions you

propose I should have sent are ever forwarded to me. When you have lived a few years in Jamaica you will understand the worthlessness of such documents.

The meaning of my question in my last letter was not what was to be done as regards your stay at —— or removal therefrom, but what was to be done to render it possible for me to make use of you in the Diocese without this endless worry and confusion and upsetting of the good you do in evangelizing by your lack of judgment in other things.

I am very distressed about you and the way you are blocking up your path to future usefulness and rendering yourself obnoxious to your clerical brethren and to intelligent laymen everywhere, all the while you are no doubt really doing good in other directions, though you little know what pitfalls you are preparing for yourself in regard to future work among the mass of the people if you had to remain permanently in a place like ——.

On the appearance of Froude's "The English in the West Indies," he wrote to the editors of the leading religious papers as follows:

Mr. J. A. Froude's recent book, "The English in the West Indies," has already attracted considerable attention, and will no doubt in the future often be quoted and referred to as an authority in West Indian matters. It is difficult to imagine how anyone evidently actuated by no unkind feelings could have managed so utterly to misrepresent the facts of the case in regard to the Jamaica Church. I forward herewith copy of a charge delivered to the clergy and laity of this diocese before Mr. Froude's book came to hand; and you will find in the appendix a brief note referring to his book. A glance through the charge would be necessary to get a fairly correct and adequate impression of what the Church here is doing; but the figures on pages 5, 6, 16, and 30, referring to population of the island, church membership, baptisms, marriages, church finances, schools, and confirmations, sufficiently answer Mr. Froude's statements about the Church. His statements in substance amount to this: that the Church of England in Jamaica is simply the Church of the English here (all the white people in the island only number 13,000), and that it exercises little or no influence on the general population of coloured and black people. . . .

On the 21st of December Sir Henry Norman, the new Governor, landed. On the following day was published the new form of government: nine members of

the Legislative Council to be elected by the people, a "moderate step in advance," the proposal meeting with disapproval as being inadequate. On the 31st the Bishop records:

> Attended a meeting in the evening of gentlemen assembled to discuss the "New Constitution" of the Legislative Council. Was loath to go, but it seemed a duty to try and stem the torrent of opposition to what seems to me a proposal of Her Majesty's Government. On the whole wise and beneficial.

When in November he sent the Rev. E. Basset Key to initiate and organize Church and education work at Colon and elsewhere on the Isthmus, he gave him a very full letter of instructions, which reads very like similar documents given by the Board of Trade and Plantations to Colonial Governors in the seventeenth century.

In this year he founded the Divinity School, which soon became the Theological College and later St. Peter's College. He was keenly sensible of the need for such an institution and was insistent in his claims for its support. He received much sympathetic help from Sir Henry Norman, and from friends and Church societies in England.

On the 31st of January, 1884, he spent some time with the Rev. A. W. Lockyer, sent out by the South American Missionary Society of London for the Isthmus of Panama. Various mistakes had been made as to resources available for the mission and the authority under which it was to be managed. These he hoped would be put right, but he added: "It will involve me in lengthy correspondence."

In April he sent to the Rev. S. Kerr, of the Church of England Mission, Colon, a letter enclosing a copy of a "note" dated 8th of February, signed on behalf of the Directors of the Panama Canal Company, by M. C. de Lesseps. The note runs as follows:

> The Panama Canal Company has always intended to secure for its staff of agents and labourers in the Isthmus the services of various forms of worship, without favouring any particular church or sect.

With this in view, it has determined to build two Protestant chapels, one at Gorgona and one at Emperado, [which are] encamped at equal distances from both ends of the Canal. Up to the present time only one chaplain, Mr. Copp, has carried on ministerial work on the Isthmus at the company's expense. Mr. Copp was appointed in 1882 because he told Mr. Champson, President of the American Committee of the Panama Canal at New York, that, in his opinion, if any religious influence was to be exercised, it must be in harmony with the creed of each man to whatever Protestant sect he might belong.

Up to the present date we have not received information that Mr. Copp has sought to obtain any authority over the clergymen who may be sent to carry on their ministerial functions in the Isthmus, or to pretend to grant an exclusive privilege to officiate in the church at Colon.

The only information which we have about this church was furnished us by two English Societies for the Propagation of Religion. We have no right to the control of this church, and we are unable to estimate the right which the Railway Company may or may not possess. But, if it should be necessary, we would be willing, with the Board of Directors of the Railway Company, to make any enquiries which might be asked of us.

The principle of equal treatment of all Protestant sects will be applied in the chapels which our company intends to build.

Two English societies have written to us to ask that the English clergymen sent by them, or by the Bishop of Jamaica, may be authorized to carry on their ministerial functions in our chapels and our encampments, prefectly free to enjoy the same privileges as are enjoyed by other clergymen.

One of these, the S.A.M. Society, has informed us that it has just sent to the Isthmus, as Missionary Chaplain, the Rev. A. Lockyer, at a stipend of £250 per annum, and it asks for him a subsidy from our company, as well as the use of the church at Colon.

The other society, the S.P.G., informs us that it has placed funds at the disposal of the Bishop of Jamaica for the support of a priest and a catechist. It also asks our assistance and the use of the church at Colon.

We reply to these societies that, in our Protestant chapels, all sects will be treated alike, that we are willing to ask the Board of Directors of the Panama Railway if they are able to establish the rule of equal treatment for all Protestant sects in the church at Colon, and that we request the Director-General at the Isthmus to forward us a plan by which, if he thinks it expedient, a subsidy may be granted to a minister of the Anglican sect.

The clergymen who wish to have the right of entrance to our chapels or on our encampments will be required to act in concert with the Director-General, and to follow the regulations which he will draw with a view of securing equality of treatment for all Protestant sects in our chapels and encampments.

M. DE LESSEPS.

After much correspondence Panama was transferred from the Bishopric of the Falkland Islands to that of Jamaica.

On the 28th of February he wrote: "At 2, went to Port Royal to call on the Admiral and the Commodore, to arrange if possible to get some help from the Admiralty for the Port Royal Church. Prince George of Wales was there."

In March he prepared a report to the Government on Competitive Examinations in the future for candidates for employment in the Civil Service.

He somewhat early in his career as Bishop learnt the untrustworthiness of testimonials. He wrote in January, 1884:

. . . I have learnt (and it is the experience of all the Bishops who were here last November) to place no faith whatever in testimonials, and always to look for what is *not* said. The testimony of the Bishop of ——, if fully given on all essential points in this case, would have been very valuable; but his testimonial is just one of those reticent ones in which the rule has to be carefully observed to read between the lines. I regret that it should be so, but nevertheless it is a fact, that with few exceptions there has not for years past been any satisfaction in the case of men coming to this Diocese in mature life. The other West Indian Bishops give that as their own sorrowful experience. I have by this mail to answer communications in regard to one gentleman whose case had, I supposed, been so thoroughly sifted that no doubts could arise, all obtainable information going to confirm the excellent testimonials he produced. And yet information from a high and responsible source is now to hand which makes me wish I had never heard the name of the gentleman referred to, or been drawn into correspondence with him. . . .

On the other hand, the testimonials given by the Bishop himself were frankness itself and never open to misinterpretation. *Ab uno disce omnes:*

To all whom it may concern.

29th of August, 1890.

Master —— has been in my service for some months doing the work of a junior clerk.

He is now leaving me, the immediate cause being that he can no longer reside near Halfway Tree, where my business requires him by half-past 6 in the morning. He does not write a very good hand, but has learnt to write pretty quickly. He is honest and industrious.

I should think that in a store where the work was suited to his capacities and tastes he would make a useful clerk.

E. Jamaica.

On the 24th of April, 1884, he wrote an important letter to the Bishop of Trinidad:

As regards Canon Churton's strictures on our Provincial Synod arrangements I concur with you entirely. There is nothing in them. One cannot help wishing for an opportunity of defending the positions we have taken; but writing 5,000 miles away is a poor substitute for debate in a competent assembly. I am beginning to lose the little faith I once had in the common run of magazine articles and newspaper leading articles as sources of enlightenment. They are evidently written mostly by men with scant qualifications for doing their work as it ought to be done.

1. As to the Provincial Synod of the West Indies being constituted as at present, any one who takes the trouble to become properly acquainted with the facts will be convinced that a body professedly representative of the clergy and laity would be a delusion. The plan we have adopted is workable, suited to the circumstances of the Province, and secures the rights of clergy and laity in a real and substantial manner. No other would accomplish these things. What may be possible twenty years hence we cannot tell. It is a curious specimen of enlightening criticism for a reviewer to quote the bald fact of the Synod being composed of Bishops only, and to say nothing of the reasons given for the arrangement, and of the care we have taken efficiently to secure the active participation of the clergy and laity of the Province in all our legislation before it becomes authoritative.

2. The connection with Canterbury. I have not the slightest doubt our action in this respect is wise and necessary. These isolated communities will need even in the near future, not to speak of times more remote, that conservative influence which is imposed by the connection with the Mother Church as we have

arranged it. There is no knowing what mischief might arise endangering our union with the Mother Church, without such a check. I have no doubt that in the course of time the Mother Church will mature arrangements by which the connection between herself and daughter churches could be of a synodical character instead of, as at present, a personal one through the Archbishop of Canterbury. There is some ground for the fear felt in many quarters lest the Archbishop of Canterbury should develop into an Anglican Pope. The answer to that is—better a pope than no supreme authority at all; but better still properly organized synodical arrangements through which the English Church could exercise her proper influence over her daughters. In the meantime we have the safeguard that we do not commit to the Archbishop the power to impose any directions or use in the shape of new obligations, but the power to check our own possible observations. . . .

4. Missionary work. Canon Churton's remarks on this subject are the absurdest of all. The good old man does not know what he is writing about. All our work is missionary work in his sense, and as you say it is matter for Diocesan rather than Provincial arrangement; except the Pongas Mission, which we did try to help. It would be a grand thing for the Church of England throughout the world if the Mother Church in England, as a whole, did one-fourth of what we in these dioceses are doing to promote mission work, taking into account the respective wealth and numbers. But Canon Churton's failure to understand the West Indian Church in this particular does not surprise me after manifold experiences of similar ignorance of our affairs in quarters where I least expected it. Let me tell you a story apropos of Canon Churton's anxieties that we should not neglect mission work "amongst the great negro population." I suppose there has never been in the English Church any one with a wider, more reliable, and more minute knowledge of the conditions of Church work in Missionary and Colonial dioceses than Henry Venn of the C.M.S. Perhaps Mr. Bullock of the S.P.G nearly equalled him. Well, at one time I was negotiating with the C.M.S. as to the best method of securing the legal transfer of some of their old properties in Jamaica (parsonage houses, etc.) to our Corporate Body for the benefit of the disestablished Church. As the mouthpiece of the C.M.S. Committee Mr. Venn expressed verbally (and afterwards it was put in writing) that the C.M.S. would like the Jamaica Church to get the benefit of these properties, but that they must be considered as intended for the benefit of the missions among the negroes. A specific case had then to be dealt with: a parsonage house at a place in the parish of St. Andrew. The decision of the

C.M.S. formulated under Mr. Venn's direction was that we could appropriate the house or dispose of it, provided we placed the proceeds in a fund for the benefit of the mission among the negroes, and I was to report proposals which would give effect to this. My reply was that I did not know how to give effect to this except as I had already proposed—namely, that they should give us the house for the benefit of the church at that place; and they were evidently very surprised when I told them that all the people attending that church were negroes and coloured people, that the Church Committee was composed of the same class of people, and that this was, in fact, the case with a large proportion of our churches. So in the end the parsonage was secured for the benefit of the clergyman ministering to the congregation at that place.

You are the one to reply to Canon Churton. I have not the ability nor the time, and my words would not come with the weight that yours would. In any reply it might help to bring home to the understanding of Englishmen something of the difficulty of getting together from these poor and scattered dioceses a Provincial Synod fully representative of the clergy and laity, as well as the Bishops, if you mentioned the fact that the Bishop of Nassau (who was not present on account of family affliction) mentioned in writing that it was practically easier for him (as to expense and time) to meet a Provincial Synod if its sittings were held in London than if held in the West Indies.

In May the Bishop's unceasing labours began again to tell on him, and his medical advisers warned him that he must take rest and recreation. This advice he tried to follow till the end of July, "somewhat retarded by business which it seemed must be done."

Aided by friends who had been very kind in urging him to go, and in furnishing him with the needful money in the most handsome manner, he sailed with Mrs. Nuttall for three months' rest and change, in the *Alvena*, for New York, on the 13th of August. He spent eight days in New York, three days at Buffalo and Niagara Falls, and the remainder at the Sanitarium, Clifton Springs, in Ontario County in New York State. He endeavoured to benefit by the treatment, and kept steadily to it, taking rest meanwhile. The physicians considered that real constitutional improvement was taking place, but told him that he must get more rest and change. He

reached Kingston on the return journey on the 18th of December.

With regard to politics, the Bishop wrote at this time, in response to a request for remarks on certain resolutions:

. . . It is only under very special circumstances that one in my position can really serve the best interests of the country by taking part in the discussion of political questions.

I attended the late private meeting and the committee meetings which arose out of it, because I hoped that there was a possibility of securing such mutual concessions as might have harmonized elements which were discordant, and united most of those who were more for the country than themselves in a common effort to lay deeply and well the foundations of social and political progress, while yet the controlling hand of the British Government was kept on our affairs; and so the confidence of those who have had good reason in the past on our own showing to doubt our capacity so to govern as to promote the welfare and development of the 400,000 at the lower end of the social scale, might be retained during the period in which we were at once educating ourselves to the practical use of political privileges and proving ourselves capable of caring fully and well for all sections and interests in the community, and thus steadily, surely, and safely leading on to the inevitable complete political emancipation.

My hopes for such a settlement at the present time do not seem likely to be realized. I think a mistake is being made in any public agitation which goes beyond a strong, clear assertion that the proposed concessions are only accepted as instalments of more complete representative institutions, which it is hoped the duly elected representatives of the people will be in a position effectively to claim and the Crown to concede at no very distant day. . . .

On the 26th of January, 1885, he referred as usual to his birthday:

Thanks to God for the mercies of the past year. The future is all unknown. But though I have much naturally to make me anxious there is no need for fear, for God's orderings will be well. I desire to have only one wish—namely, to do the will of God.

At a Bible Society's meeting held at night on the 6th of February, at the Court House, Kingston, a deputation was present from England, the Rev. D. Brodie (Church of England) and the Rev. G. Sargeant (Wesleyan). The Governor, Sir Henry Norman, pre-

sided. He announced, in opening, the receipt of a telegram about the fall of Khartoum. The Bishop, at the close, dealt on the debt which the British Empire owed to the statesmen and representatives of the nation, who like Gordon had given their lives to the teaching of the Word of God, and carried out its principles in dealing with men, especially barbarous and semi-civilized races.

In March, in writing to Bishop Rawle, he said:

> . . . I wish, without injury to Trinidad, you could spend four of five months in the year with us. How I should value the strength and stimulus we should get from you, especially in those portions of our work in which we have to direct and shape the characters of our future workers. I am a mere server of tables and a grinder through routine of work of organizing and managing and finding money and men, etc. It does seem a pity that *your* time and anxieties have to be so largely occupied about matters which a good Archdeacon or Commissary might do and leave you free (your own financial resources sufficing for your own needs) to help as you could so well help the cause of true religion in other dioceses besides your own in this province. . . .

In April Bishop Stirling, of the Falkland Islands, arrived from Colon to see the Bishop on the business of the Colon Mission, and he entertained him till he left on the 4th of May.

The Synod of 1885 passed a resolution of congratulation to the Bishop on his return to active work from an illness, caused by his untiring and faithful devotion to the duties of his office. At that Synod he, in a memorandum on Primary Education, submitted suggestions for compulsory education.

At this period he spent the nights for some time at the Grove, near Gordon Town, where his family was staying. How well he obeyed his medical advisers' orders as to less work one may judge from the following extract from the diary:

> On the 22nd of July left by first train, with horses and buggy, for May Pen. On to Chapelton. Inspected plans for church improvement and decided some matters in connection therewith. Then on to Trinity School Chapel at Navin Castle, Rev. J. W.

Austin with me. Got to Trinity by 2 p.m. A great gathering of people. Held service. Spoke also to children. Inspected buildings. After refreshments left about 4.30 p.m., and got to Mr. Archer's at Cave Valley in St. Ann's just before dark. A long hard day. On the 23rd on to Aboukir. Service at 10. Confirmed 16 males, 32 females; total 48. Sermon on Revelation iii. 4. Meeting of Church Committee afterwards. Got to Brown's Town lodgings before dark. On the 24th Brown's Town service at 10 a.m. Confirmed 10 males, 12 females; total 22. Preached on Luke xxii. 31 and 32. Met Church Committee. Lunched at Miss Morales'. Then went on to Stewart Town. Service at 2 p.m. Confirmed 10 males, 24 females; total 34. Text, Revelation iii. 4. Went on to Mr. Fisher's, Mahogany Hall. On the 25th started after late breakfast for Albert Town. Road very rough. Mr. Shearer had kindly sent me a pair of horses so as to rest mine at Mahogany Hall. Reached Albert Town by 3 p.m. Various matters of business in the evening. On the 26th service at 10. Confirmed 15 males, 20 females; total 35. Text, Luke xxii. 31 and 32. Holy Communion. Several addresses to Church members on various matters. Long meeting of Church Committee. After slight refreshment started for Mahogany Hall at 3.30 p.m. and got in before dark.

Monday the 27th.—To Swanswick Church. Service at 11. Confirmed 30 males, 56 females; total 86. Text, Luke ix. 62. Met principal members of the Church Committee to deal in the way of preliminary advice with one or two matters of special importance. Went for the night to Stonehenge, the residence of Rev. C. Melville.

Tuesday the 28th.—Started early for Falmouth Church. Service at 11. Confirmed 24 males, 55 females; total 79. Text, Luke xxii. 31 and 32. Met several parties in vestry afterwards to inquire into some disputed matters. Stayed for the night at Mr. Stewart's house.

Wednesday the 29th.—Had been very unwell in the night. Started thus at 6 a.m. Met Rev. C. Melville and Mr. Johnson at a place near Duncans to decide on exact site and other arrangements for a small chapel on land to be given by Mr. Johnson from his property Retirement. Then went on to Rio Bueno. Service at 10. Did my best to get through in more than a perfunctory manner, but was in much pain and discomfort. Confirmed 11 males, 22 females; total 33. Text, Luke xxii. 31 and 32. After transacting various matters of business with Rev. J. E. Miller and taking some light refreshment went on to Seville, the residence of Mr. Solomon, near St. Ann's Bay, which I reached about 5. Mr. Solomon's family is away in the hills. He had to

dinner Messrs. Hart and Lewis. Retired early. Was glad of the quiet rest of this comfortable house. Some pain in the night. Rose moderately early, notwithstanding, next morning.

Thursday the 30th.—Felt better than I expected to feel. Had much talk with Mr. Solomon on educational matters. Took a light breakfast. Then on to St. Ann's Bay Church. Service at 10. Confirmed 21 males, 36 females; total 57. Text, Revelation iii. 4. Various matters of business afterwards with the Rev. J. Cork. Left about 3 and got to Moneague by dark. Tired, but feeling better on the whole.

Friday the 31st.—Got up at 3 a.m. Got away at half-past 4. Reached Bishop's Lodge before 12. Read letters and wrote one or two of pressing importance. Went to Grove. Found all moderately well. Felt thankful for this and all journeying mercies. A very hard but, I hope, useful journey.

In August and September attention was given to preparing for what was to be for many years his mountain home at Stony Hill.

In connection with the Commission on District Courts he wrote in April, 1885, to the Governor, Sir Henry Norman:

I think with you that it is very desirable that clergy (such as Mr. Panton) who can represent the views of the body of the black people should give evidence before the Commission on the District Courts; but I also think it unlikely that they will *tender* such evidence, and undesirable in view of their pastoral relations with all classes that they should take public action in such a matter, except in obedience to the call of the Commission. I also think that a good deal of the usefulness of their evidence would depend on the kind of questions put to them by the Commission. . . . We can answer questions better than volunteer evidence.

He goes on to say:

I take the opportunity to enclose with my reply to your private note about the District Courts Commission a few words on another matter which I trust Your Excellency will pardon me for thus privately referring to.

You mentioned to me some days ago the possibility of your offering for service elsewhere in the eventuality of war. If points like the following have not occurred to you I hope Your Excellency will consider them before placing yourself at the disposal of Her Majesty's Government for Indian Service.

It seems to me that the developments of the last thirty years (since we were at war with a European Power) have in both naval and military matters so changed the condition of affairs that the plans and results of warfare are, even to the initiated, problematical, particularly as affecting a Power like Great Britain with interests to protect in every sea, and every quarter of the globe.

I should expect in the event of a serious and protracted struggle (and more especially if the conflict with one European Power develops into a general war) that heavy blows would be aimed at the extremities of the Empire. I should, in short (and to come to the practical point I have in view), expect that places like Jamaica will probably (if the integrity and honour of the Empire are to be maintained) need to have in authority men of experience and capacity who, with little help from other sections of the Empire, can develop internal sources of defence and make the most of imperfect local resources. I also think that the present time of trouble may be utilized as an opportunity of strengthening the loyalty of our people and furnishing them with the occasion for its intelligent exercise. I believe the mass of them to be loyal to the Crown beyond all doubt or suspicion. But it will be well for our people generally to realize more clearly what are the benefits of living under the British Crown and also to feel something of the obligation and the privilege of helping to maintain the Empire.

With all its faults, the rule of Britain has been intended to benefit and raise subject-races, and to a wonderful extent it has succeeded and is succeeding in this. Our people are becoming, I trust, more and more fit to exercise the rights of citizens of the Empire; and I trust they will show that they are proud of their connection with the Empire, and are ready to sustain with all their power the Queen's dominion.

But all the elements of strength in a country like this would become elements of weakness to the Empire, if an inexperienced and incompetent man were at the head of our affairs during a great national crisis and the distractions and perils of a general war.

I trust Your Excellency will see your way to stay here, because you possess the qualifications specially needed in the circumstances which seem to me likely to arise in the near future; and because (which is the next important) our people of all classes will have confidence in your capacity in any crisis that may arise.

To a clergyman of another denomination he wrote in June:

. . . It is exceedingly unwise, and in fact wrong, for a Christian minister to leave one body of Christians and seek to join another

simply because there is some temporary misunderstanding or even permanent disagreement about trivial matters of finance or ecclesiastical administration. The only thing which can justify such a change and furnish ground for expecting that it will be attended with good results is conscientious conviction that service will be better rendered to the Lord Jesus Christ in His Church by such a change.

No one should seek to join the ministry of the Church of England without strong convictions based on evidence which has been fully weighed, not merely that it is a good form of ministry which may be chosen from amongst several others about equally good; but that the three orders of ministry perpetuated in the Church of England have come down to us from Apostolic times, and that (without theorizing on the principle of Apostolical Succession or pronouncing on the practice of other Christian bodies) it is our duty and privilege in so important a matter to adhere steadfastly to the practice of the Primitive Church as established under the guidance of the first Apostles of the Lord. . . .

As a matter of fact, the clergyman in question changed his denomination, but did not enter the Church of England.

In September the Bishop wrote to the Governor:

. . . On my return from my recent tour of visitation of churches in the western parishes I found Your Excellency's kind letter of August 31st, with cheque for fifty pounds enclosed, being a second donation for this year to the funds of our Divinity School from "A friend to Jamaica." I shall be much obliged if you will say to the donor that we are very thankful for his help, and more especially at the present time, when we are entirely without funds.

I know that our friend is more especially interested in a kind of work which does not appear to be particularly fostered by our Divinity School—I mean Evangelistic work. But I wish to take this opportunity of showing (if you will permit me) that, without making any great professions on this subject, we are yet not losing sight of it, but are quietly yet effectively aiding this most important branch of Christian work. This will be best illustrated by an example of actual operations.

In one of my journeys during the last few months I reached Buff Bay on a Saturday night. According to previous arrangement I started at 5 o'clock next morning to visit an outstation about eight miles distant in the mountains so as to be back at Buff Bay for midday service. The name of the place is Bybrook. After travelling a short distance in my buggy, I was met at the first

river-fording by people from Bybrook who had brought me a horse to ride and come to show me the way. After crossing numerous fordings and travelling over a rough road at a slow pace, I reached Bybrook about 7 o'clock. I investigated various matters connected with the station, the day and Sunday schools, etc. Then had service at eight. There were 73 persons presented for confirmation, all of whom had given evidence to the catechist of a real desire and purpose to dedicate themselves to the service of God. There were about 500 persons present at the service. I had, among other things, to make arrangements for building a new church, the present temporary structure requiring to be superseded by a more substantial and commodious building. The people have already commenced to give labour, material, and money towards this new building. They provide the cost of maintaining their catechist, and help to sustain their day school, which is a large and flourishing one.

Now what I want to point out is this. Here in a remote part of Jamaica is a station which, within my recollection, was commenced with only one family to attend service. It has been assisted to a certain extent by our Home Missionary Society: and it has had the monthly visits of a superintending clergyman. All else has been done by a black catechist and the people of his charge. The station is flourishing in every way; and in numbers and spiritual influence is as important as many of our old established churches. Not only so. The catechist goes out into the surrounding regions to hold evangelistic services at various centres two or three times a week. These services are very simple, suited to the present needs of the people. The catechist's addresses (which are now and then written and sent to me for criticism) are clear, earnest gospel sermons. And people are being led to the love and service of their Saviour. Already in two places a number thus gathered in have formed themselves into branch stations and buildings are being erected for regular services and meetings. This catechist is one to whom our Divinity School has for several years given much help in study, etc. He stands nearly at the top of our list, and I am now contemplating having him up for further training, with a view to ordaining him Deacon for Bybrook, and so hoping to assist him towards greater usefulness.

He wrote in October to one of the clergy:

I should much like a "quiet day" with the clergy on the occasion of my proposed visit to the West End of the island in November. I should have thought some other place more suitable than Montego Bay, for there are many distractions in a town.

Moreover, I wish there were one of the clergy able to take

a principal part in the engagements of such a day. It is a source of constant distress to me that I can secure no leisure for anything like daily needful devotional purposes. How to prepare adequately for conducting the services of such a day I do not know. I feel more like needing someone to help me than my being able to help others in such a way. However, we will see what can be done.

To a churchwarden, who had brought charges against his clergyman, he wrote:

. . . To yourself I have now to say that, judging by your own communications alone (both as to the tone and substance of them) and without reference to the report of Mr. —— thereon, it is quite evident to me that you are out of your place as a churchwarden, for you do not understand what your authority is, nor what your duties are; and I recommend you to resign your office.

In November he wrote a long and important letter, seeking advice from the Bishop of Truro (Wilkinson), from which the following is abstracted:

6. We have now two special and pressing needs. *One of these* is the need of a competent man to aid in organizing, and establishing on a sound basis, Parochial Mission Work. The work needed is such as would do for Jamaica, in combination, what is now being done in England by such separate modes of work as those conducted under the auspices of the Parochial Missions Society and the Church Army. If we had the right man and the means to sustain him, we could find and support co-workers and subordinate agents; and a great spiritual advance would be made. Can you advise and help us as to that?

7. *The other pressing need* is, the visit to the Diocese of a Christian lady competent to aid in organizing our women's work. We have Provincial and Diocesan Canons making provision for the appointment of deaconesses. This is as yet a paper organization so far as this or any other Diocese in the West Indies is concerned. But I want to see it become a reality here. We have a great many female workers in our Church who are a great help to our clergy. We need to have the work better organized. We want a system which will give us some deaconesses and other subordinate or associate workers. The nature of work to be done here by women is not so much that which is usually associated with the idea of sisterhoods. It is rather a combination of the official or semi-official work which one can suppose the primitive deaconesses to have performed in visiting the sick and distributing church alms with the work of teaching, and helping to discipline

in the Church ways, female candidates for confirmation and communicants, and also looking after the spiritual and other interests of illegitimate children.

8. Now I need a godly, capable woman to help me in maturing and carrying into operation plans for organizing this woman's work in our Church. . . .

A woman of narrow or extreme views would not be trusted, and would not be able to help us much in the special work required, however devout she might be. It is a diocesan want we have to meet, and not the needs or wishes of a few parishes. A holy, judicious woman, holding and representing either Your Lordship's views or those, say, of the Bishop of Rochester, would be welcomed and trusted everywhere by our godly clergy and laity. My own views and lines of action coincide largely with those of the Bishop of Rochester.

11. I have been led to venture on sending this communication to Your Lordship, partly by the fact that Miss —— (with whom I was in communication on the subject) has entered upon work under your jurisdiction; and partly by the fact that I have long been engaged in trying to set forth in this Diocese the deep spiritual importance of combining teaching (which has too often been kept separate everywhere) as to the devout use of the Sacraments as channels of Divine grace, and as to the blessing of individual conversion and personal loving trust in the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ for present pardon of sin and peace with God; and in these efforts I have been much aided and encouraged by your own teaching and the results of your work and by the publications you have issued. The narrowness of my purse has made my circulation of the latter more restricted than I could wish.

From the 31st of January, 1886, the Bishop of Rochester (Dr. Thorold), accompanied by his Chaplain (Rev. T. Greene), spent some days in Jamaica *en route* to Mexico, whence he returned on the 1st of March. Here he found Synod sitting. He gave an address to the Church of England Temperance Society, and also addressed the Synod on Parochial Missions, on Church workers, and on other subjects.

On the 17th the Bishop wrote: "Saw Bishop of Rochester off by the *Don* at 4 p.m. His visit has, I hope, benefited him and certainly been helpful to us in the Diocese."

His strong sense of duty made him write in February to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Benson), as follows:

1. In the early part of January, 1886, on my return home from journeyings in the distant parts of the Diocese, I found here a letter from the Primate of the West Indies, dated George Town, Demerara, 26th of November, 1885, forwarding me a copy of Your Grace's communication to him dated 8th of October, 1885, on the subject of the Nassau Bishopric. In the aforesaid communication our Primate informed me that he had signified to Your Grace his wish, considering all circumstances of the case, to leave to you the selection of a Bishop for Nassau.

2. I did not see my way to such a course: first, because I did not believe that, being possessed only of a delegated authority in the matter, I had any power to delegate that authority to any one else; and secondly, because I believed that the adoption of such a course would defeat the very purpose for which (as I supposed) the original authority was conveyed. I should have been thankful to know that the vacancy in the See of Nassau had been filled by the appointment of a Bishop selected by Your Grace if the Synod of Nassau had passed a resolution providing for the filling up of the vacancy in that manner; and I can imagine no reason why the Bishops of the West Indian Province should be associated with Your Grace in the duty of selecting an English clergyman to become Bishop of Nassau except that the Diocese of Nassau wished that they might apply their practical experience of local needs in helping to form a judgment of the fitness of some individual clergyman proposed for the office. In all other respects Your Grace must be more competent than we are to judge of the fitness of any clergyman selected from England.

3. I yesterday received a letter from the Primate of the West Indies dated 2nd of February, 1886, forwarding copy of Your Grace's letter to him dated 11th of January, 1886, informing him of the selection of Rev. E. Churton for the Diocese of Nassau and stating some of the grounds on which the selection has been made. I also received last night Your Grace's telegram worded as follows: "Wire decision Nassau Archbishop." To this I have this morning replied by telegram as follows: "Nassau appointment approved."

4. In the circumstances, I have felt that I was justified in forwarding such a telegram because it seemed likely that my failure to do so would cause injurious delay in the carrying out of arrangements which have been matured by Your Grace with the utmost care; and (as I doubt not) under the Divine guidance; but seeing that I have had no information on the points in which my judgment as a West Indian Bishop would have been of any use, I am not

without misgivings as to my own share in this transaction, which seems a very perfunctory performance of a very solemn duty.

5. That the Divine blessing may rest on the life and work of the new Bishop of Nassau is the earnest prayer of

E. Jamaica.

In March, in writing also to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he said:

. . . I take this opportunity to put before Your Grace some considerations on the subject of admitting Colonial clergy to work in England. I had some correspondence with Lord Blanchford when he was preparing and carrying through Parliament the present Colonial Clergy Act; and I think I am familiar with the questions dealt with by the Act. I think the law calculated on the whole to prove beneficial alike to the Colonial Church, the Mother Church, and the clergy concerned. In recent newspaper controversy on the subject it has apparently been quite overlooked that instead of being a disabling statute, as far as it concerns those Colonial clergy (and they constitute the great majority) who have been ordained by Bishops not having legal jurisdiction within the meaning of the old law, this Act is really an enabling statute conferring privileges which did not exist before.

3. There is, however, a sense in which not so much the law as the controversies which have arisen about it are resulting in injury to the Colonial Church. And I think the injury may be removed without any change in the law if Your Grace, in concert with the Archbishop of York, should see fit to issue a formal document stating what your practice will be in the cases I refer to. There is great need that Colonial Bishops should be able to secure for the service of the Colonial Church for shorter or longer periods graduates of the Universities—men of capacity and competent training. We can occasionally get hold of men of this stamp even for dioceses, such as Jamaica, which have not many inducements to offer. But ordinarily, in order to secure them we must get hold of them as they leave the Universities. And the fact that there is a certain disability attached to Colonial orders as regards legal rights within the Mother Church is acting as a deterrent in the cases of these men. Already, in regard to my own work, this difficulty has arisen in the case of two men since the recent controversy took place; and I believe it is the real cause of my losing a third most desirable man. I think, if the Archbishops would issue a formal document stating what their practice will be as regards admitting returned Colonial clergy generally to work at home, indicating to what extent, merit, and length of service

will be allowed to reckon as a set-off to their not being university men; and stating further that in the case of graduates of the English universities who return to the Mother Church after ordination, and a longer or shorter period of work in the Colonies, the licence of the Archbishops will be given as a matter of course on proof of good character and standing being forthcoming, thus qualifying such clergy to take their position alongside of their brethren in England without difficulty, then I think there would be little to complain of in the relations between the Colonially-ordained clergy and the Mother Church. . . .

In May he wrote to the Rev. John Lindsay, rector of St. Clement Danes, Strand:

. . . I beg to say, first, that no position or emoluments that could be offered to me in England would, in my opinion, justify my leaving my work here, until the Providence which plainly placed me where I am as plainly indicated for my removal. I have never yet made my plans for myself, but have simply gone on from day to day doing the next duty that presented itself, according to the divine orderings of my life. I cannot foresee the future, but as far as I can make a forecast it is that I shall wear out before very long and die at my post. . . .

In June, in writing to his old friend Mr. Broxap, he said:

. . . We, like all the Britishers the world over, are deeply interested in Mr. Gladstone's Irish Schemes, which fill us with amazement. Mr. Gladstone has many qualities which I admire, and great have been his services to the nation. But he knows nothing about the management of men. He lacks the ruling faculty, which is an important defect in a statesman. His foreign policy and his Irish policy are always foredoomed to failure.

I have long seen that some changes must come in the relations of the British Parliament to England, Ireland, Scotland, and the Colonies and India. But it will be a fatal mistake to treat Ireland differently from Scotland or Wales, or England, in this relationship.

Mr. Chamberlain (so far as I understand him at this date and distance) is on the right track. Relieve the Imperial Parliament of its glut of work by building up a system of local representative institutions to do local business. The Canadian relations to the Mother Country are not the model; but those of the provincial Canadian assemblies to the Central Canadian Government—or, with modifications, the State Assembly in each of the States of the Union, in relation to Congress—might be taken as embodying the

idea which practical statesmen have to work out in regard to Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and English (and to a certain extent Colonial) local representative Assemblies, and their relations to the Imperial Parliament. I hope Lord Hartington and the other Independent Liberals will be successful in their stand against the absurd measures of Mr. Gladstone.

I expect that this latest action of the G.O.M. will be used by that Providence which has hitherto (and will yet I trust) safeguarded the welfare of the Empire, as a means of stimulating needed and extensive reforms and adaptations of our national institutions in the direction I have above indicated. . . .

At this time he wrote to the late Mr. Bancroft Espeut, an elected member of the Legislative Council, who was much interested in railway extension:

I am a strong advocate for opening up the country by railway communications as much as practicable. And I would do this to a greater extent than would be justified by direct returns in railway earnings. I look upon railways as a modern form of road just as necessary for the development of a country, in view of modern competition of all kinds, as the old macadamized roads were in times gone by. The chief questions to be settled are: Can we safely pledge the public credit further than we have pledged it? And what railway extension can be effected at reasonable cost which will develop trade and permanent industry in the districts traversed?

If there can be found a satisfactory answer to the latter question, I personally should answer the former question in the affirmative.

In May he took possession of Belmont. On the 29th he wrote: "Interview with Mr. Deurwaarder. Terrible threats against me for having deprived him of his living."

In June, he recorded the occurrence of very heavy "seasons" rains.

Tried to get to Port Royal for Confirmation Service. Rain and wind came down heavily as I was attempting to cross the harbour. Had to return. Got back to the Lodge. Rain continued in torrents all day. No service could be held in any of the churches. On the 7th still heavy rain; correspondence and reading. On the 8th still heavy rain. During an interval in the afternoon managed to get to Stony Hill. Found all well, though needing the supplies of food I took. Rain came on again. On the 9th

showery. On the 10th heavy rain again. Managed to get to Lodge towards evening. Rain came on again. On the 11th weather moderate. Went to Stony Hill at night. On the 12th, morning, overlooking lime work in grounds. Down to Lodge midday. Correspondence. The rain of the past week has been general: heavier than has been known for many years. Much damage to roads, and particularly to railway.

In August, on the 19th, he writes:

Drove to Moore Hall. Then rode to Highgate Church. A terrible ride. Rain, bogs, and broken roads. Consecration of Highgate Church and Confirmation. I gave two addresses. Rev. T. H. Sharpe preached the sermon. Rain, but good congregation. We left after the service, but it was almost impossible to get to the main road. We had to ride through the people's grounds and through the bush in several places to avoid the bogs in the road. Got to Port Maria at half-past 4. Storm commenced. Blew a hurricane all night. Rain came into the house in all directions! Much damage to trees and buildings. On the 20th, rain. Got a small congregation and most of the candidates together at 2 p.m. Gave a brief address. Met Church Committee afterwards. Rain. On the 21st started at half-past 8 for Retreat Parsonage, in company with the Rev. T. H. Sharpe. Had to get men to cut the trees that were across the road in many places. We crossed the Oracabessa River easily. At the New River we had great difficulty to cross. My buggy was heavier than Mr. Sharpe's, and one of my horses years ago had a dreadful river accident, and is very timid. In the deepest part of the stream he got frightened. It seemed impossible to get over. But by God's good providence at last it was managed. All my clothes in tin case, as well as most of those I had on, very wet. River swept through the buggy. On the 22nd to Retreat Church. Managed to begin the Confirmation and Communion Service at 1. Rain. Candidates living over the river tried to get to church. Some succeeded. One woman I saw being helped across when the water reached her arm-pits. The torrent became stronger from the continued rain and no more could cross. On the 23rd to Labyrinth. Dedication of school chapel. A fine building. Confirmed 3 females who were not able to get to Retreat yesterday. Back to Retreat Parsonage. There held a special Confirmation Service at 4.30 p.m. for those candidates who were not able to cross the river yesterday. All this time I have not been able to hear from home, telegraph lines being thrown down by the storm, and posts not able to cross the rivers.

In October the Jamaica Schools Commission—after much spadework on his part—passed the Bishop's formulated proposals for University extension work, and also the laws and new schemes for four endowed schools—Manchester, Vere, Rusea's (at Lucea), Titchfield (at Port Antonio).

On February 3rd, 1887, he wrote: "Trying to get up a meeting of citizens to help to cleanse the city and otherwise prepare for the threatened visitation of cholera." The visitation came, and lasted into the following year.

On the fourth day of Synod he wrote: "Have had a week of incessant work night and day, and began the Synod in a state of weariness and disarrangement from overwork. Thankful I got through the week as well as I did."

In a long letter to the Governor (Sir Henry Norman) on the recently published report on the Royal Commission on Education, written in March, he said:

> . . . In my opinion the best system (if attainable) would be one in which the State would provide for the free education of the children of the poor; and subsidize schools for all other children to the extent needed to secure stability and efficiency; and would take effective steps for securing that persons of all classes who are competent to bear a substantial share of the cost of educating their children should not evade their responsibility.
>
> Any system which provides a free education in the Primary Schools, at the cost of the general body of taxpayers, will be unjust if it does not contribute to furnish equivalent or proportionate advantages to the children taught in middle and higher class schools. . . .

On the 17th of May he left on the *Alvena* for New York, *en route* for the Provincial Synod at Barbados; going that way because Barbados had quarantined against Jamaica, on account of smallpox. This necessitated a voyage of 3,000 miles.

From New York he went, while waiting for a ship to Barbados, to Arlington, where he stayed at the "beautiful, though unpretending, house and home of Dr. Foster, the head of Clifton Springs, and the country around is

lovely." He visited Howard University and Mount Auburn Cemetery, "a beautiful resting-place for the dead." Before he left, the medical officers, after a thorough examination, reported that his prospects of an extended period of life and work were good if he could work moderately, get rid of worry as much as possible, and break the strain by yearly periods of absolute rest and recreation. He could not live and work if he did not take the course indicated. They thought that he would, under a moderate quantity of work (with as much relief as possible from desk work), improve in health and be "a well man" for many years to come, but that if he did not take the course indicated he would be liable to come to serious trouble before long. He adds:

I daresay the doctors are right. There are always unforeseen contingencies of which medical knowledge and experience can take no account. But the expression of opinion from men of great experience (coinciding as it does with the opinion of my Jamaica doctors and of Dr. Hubbard Foster) must be taken as the best guidance I can obtain. I must try to follow the advice given, and must trust God to do for me just what is best, when I am following the guidance which comes to me thus in the ordering of His Providence. I am glad when I can reach the point of being able to follow the best guidance which God gives me as to my duty (in regard to health, work, and other things), and after that to leave all issues with God with cheerful confidence. I pray to be enabled to do these two things from henceforth. It is not from choice that I overwork at any time; but perhaps a more constant habit of trusting God in all things may enable me to trust Him more in the future in regard to some things in my work which are more than I ought to attempt to accomplish.

But events proved too much for him, and he continued to overwork himself.

Before he left America he went to Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn, and heard the rector, Dr. Hall, on the parable of Dives and Lazarus. "A good sermon—Broad Church. Singing good, but too little congregational."

On the 18th of June he left on the *Finance*. On the

20th, while the ship was coaling at Newport News, he recorded:

This day completes fifty years of Queen Victoria's reign. I fancy there are not British subjects on board sufficient to make any sort of demonstration possible. I have set enquiries on foot. Day very hot. Captain could not or would not say what was the heat according to thermometer, but it must have been made much worse by the ship being shut for coaling. The captain said it was difficult to keep the negroes at work; they felt the heat so greatly, and it took six hours longer to coal than it should have done. The papers said the thermometer stood 99° in the shade on shore. It must have been 110° in the ship. I never felt anything nearly so unbearable; and this was the experience of everyone in the ship —among them many old travellers accustomed to hot climates My influenza added to my troubles. Finished coaling at night, and ship was moved to another wharf to take in cargo, where there was a chance of opening up some of the windows and getting more air, though little was stirring.

They called at St. Thomas and passed Santa Cruz, Saba, and St. Kitts. "The island looks very pretty. Those passengers who had not seen it or any tropical country before specially interested in it, as well they might."

Ever a keen Imperialist, he wrote: "I think of the people in Jamaica, celebrating the Queen's Jubilee to-day, and hope all will pass off well and happily."

He reached Barbados on the 29th, just in time for the Provincial Synod, receiving a warm welcome from the Bishop of Barbados, the Bishop of Guiana, and others. The Bishop of Nassau was absent, as he could not spare the three months' absence from his Diocese which the trip would have necessitated.

The proposals which he had prepared, at Bishop Rawle's suggestion, for rearranging the Constitutions and Canons, were all adopted with some slight amend ments. Bishop Rawle had been obliged to go to England on account of ill-health. He notes: "A heavy share of the brain-work falls on me," and one can well believe it. Again he wrote:

I have been urged to preach the closing sermon of the Provincial Synod. I regret this for several reasons. I should have

been glad to be spared the mental effort of preparation and the physical effort of delivering the sermon in addition to my other work. I should also have been glad to be relieved of the responsibility, for in view of many questions agitating some minds here, and connected largely with our synodical work, I cannot preach the sermon without honestly speaking my mind on some of these subjects. I have spent the early mornings of several days this week in sketching out a sermon.

Monday the 11th.—Closing service of Provincial Synod. I preached. Text, Ephesians. Felt sermon to be too long. My voice not in good trim, and I was otherwise below what was needed for such an effort. The sermon I think told. Think result of all will be a readier acceptance here than before of Provincial Synod work. Many kind things said to me, and much appreciation expressed of spiritual and other help given by sermon in the forenoon, which I was asked to print.

On the 12th he wrote:

Clergy of Barbados to breakfast at Bishop's Court. They presented each of the visiting Bishops with a book, and me additionally with a cheque towards covering my expenses. This was done with such expressions of appreciation and obligation that I could not do otherwise than receive the money with real thankfulness, though otherwise sorry to have to do so. I had a rather long speech to make, and the other Bishops also spoke. Special reference I had to make to the marriage of one of the daughters of the Bishop of Barbados, of which he had just received news from England. The Bishop of Barbados quite broke down under the feelings prompted by the expressions of affectionate regard from Bishops and his own clergy present, and he was unable to reply. A happy and full gathering.

On the 14th he left on the *Orinoco* for Jamaica, arriving on the 16th.

On the 12th of August he attended, at Spanish Town, a service in commemoration of the Centenary of Colonial Episcopate, and beginning of Jubilee of Freedom in Jamaica, and later a conference on Parochial Missions, at which he read an address which was printed for general use in the Diocese.

In September, 1887, he wrote acknowledging the grant of £500 from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge towards the Kingston Divinity School.

He said: "It is a great relief to myself and those associated with me to know that with the Society's generous help we have reached this stage in our efforts towards permanently providing for the maintenance of the Divinity School in this Diocese."

On the 20th of November he records the arrival of the Rev. Cyril Grant, the missioner, and his disappointment at not being able to accompany him to the day's public services.

The state of his health necessitated another consultation of physicians, which resulted in the opinion that though there was nothing organically wrong, except the old heart trouble, which was not very serious, he was thoroughly overworked, and needed a prolonged period of rest and change in England, including some cold weather, and that afterwards he might with reasonable certainty expect to be fit for moderate work.

> I try to accept my present condition and circumstances as in accordance with the will of God and to be thankful for all my numerous mercies. I had set my heart on work, and on obtaining spiritual blessing in the work, in connection with the Parochial Mission long prepared and planned for, and now begun. But God knows best what is good for me, and for my work in His Church.

This warning, however, led to the appointment of an Assistant Bishop, the contemplated office of Coadjutor being abandoned in deference to the wish of the English authorities. This step had been urged by the Provincial Synod, which realized that the overworking of the Bishop should not be allowed to continue. The Bishop offered to give up part of his small stipend, but to this the Jamaica Synod would not listen. The Bishop throughout the years of Bishop Douèt's holding of the office frequently gave the warmest testimony to the latter's loyal assistance and support.

In his journal he gives the following interesting "Summary of Confirmations from December, 1880, to December, 1887." (A few of these only are recorded

in the new journal between the 28th of October and the end of the year.)

Year, to 31st December.	*Confirmations.*	*Male.*	*Female.*	*Total.*
1881	62	1,781	3,023	4,804
1882	38	1,074	1,624	2,698
1883	26	841	1,509	2,350
1884	25	790	1,092	1,882
1885	58	1,775	2,728	4,503
1886	43	1,135	1,969	3,104
1887	18	435	755	1,190
	270	7,831	12,700	20,531

N.B.—Through some occasional divergencies between the returns from churches and my own notes taken hurriedly at the time of confirmations it is impossible to say that the above summary is absolutely correct, but it is as nearly so as I can make it.

In February, 1888, in writing to the Governor (Norman), he said:

. . . I am trying to complete the preparation of a charge which I have had in hand the last week or two in such scraps of time as I could snatch from other work. The review I have been making of the last seven years of the Church's History in this Colony shows certainly many things to be thankful for. And not the least important element in our past success has been the uniform kindness and consideration manifested by the Governor of Jamaica in determining questions arising out of the changed and ever-changing relations of the Church to the State as affecting general parochial and individual interests.

Gratitude was in this case a keen sense of favours to come, for three days later he again wrote to the Governor seeking his approval of an arrangement which would be beneficial to the Church in connection with the appointment of an Assistant Bishop.

In April, he received from Sir Henry Norman, with

whom he corresponded possibly with more freedom than with any other Governor, the following letter:

King's House,
16*th of April*, 1888.

My dear Lord Bishop,

I am much obliged for the copies of your charge and I have read it with interest from beginning to the end. Indeed, I read the charge once before.

It gives a vivid idea of the difficulties with which you have had to contend and which I fear have seriously affected your health.

I shall be very glad if you can start early in your mission to England and for a time to be free from the incessant attention to work which is so trying to you.

God has, I think, blessed your labours, and, considering the enormous difficulties, the Church of England in Jamaica is in a position for which we may be thankful.

Lady Norman says you wish to see me about one or two matters. I go into town every morning at 10.15 (except on Saturdays, when I work here), and am not back at King's House until late. I can see you at any time before 9.30 on any morning, and we should be glad if you would breakfast with us at that hour. On Saturday I shall probably be at home all day.

If your business has any reference to matters which have been the subject of correspondence, please let me know beforehand in order that I may have the correspondence with me.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
H. W. Norman.

In May, 1888, when writing to thank the ladies of St. Andrew for a purse to enable him to purchase robes, he wrote:

. . . I must confess that I had entirely overlooked the fact that the robes which I have been wearing for the last seven years will not be suitable for use on the great occasions connected with the Lambeth Synod, and if it had not been for your letter and its valuable contents I should probably have found myself in London within a few days of the opening of the Synod with no arrangements made for providing the necessary robes. . . .

On the 6th of June he sailed for England in the *Moselle*. There is then a break in the journal until it recommences October, 1889, when he records his

arrival in Jamaica by the *Medway* on Saturday, the 5th of October, from England.

On the 8th occurs the first reference in his diary to the Assistant Bishop. He at this time decided to give Bishop's Lodge up entirely to students and remove to the Orphanage House, at Halfway Tree, which had been founded by Mrs. Campbell, the wife of Archdeacon Campbell, rector of Halfway Tree.*

About this period there was a discussion in the local newspapers as to whether it was right for Christians to play billiards. The Bishop, on being asked his opinion on the subject by a layman, at a meeting of the Diocesan Council, replied: "I am now doing some building operations at Halfway Tree: if you will build me a billiard room and equip it, I will answer your question."

Of the same nature is a tale appertaining to a later date. At the time of a Provincial Synod the Archbishop and a recently consecrated Bishop were dining with a friend. After dinner the Bishop, on being asked, expressed his willingness to play billiards. His opponent happened to beat him; whereupon the Bishop, chalking his cue, said: "Now, Mr. —— for my revenge." The Archbishop touched him on the shoulder and said: "My friend, we have to make an early start in the morning, we had better get home and get to bed," which left one with the impression that the Archbishop thought that a certain amount of billiards might be good for Bishops, but that too much was harmful.

In July, 1889, he had an interview with the Registrar of the University of London on the question of forming a University for the West Indies. He concluded a letter to a fellow-worker by saying:

> If the Governor, the medical authorities, and the Schools Commission, can agree as to the advisability and practicability of developing the work of our college with the teaching work of the hospital for the benefit of medical students, as is in general outline set forth above, I think the University of London may be got to grant the necessary facilities. A little patience and persistence

* Rebuilt, it is now called Reka Dom.

will be required. But it is a good time to move in the matter, for as you see there are probably new developments to be looked for in the work of the London University; and if the colonies are wide awake enough to make their wants known the changes may be made to take a turn favourable to us in various ways.

At this time, he, in common with many others, took a keen interest in the proposed Exhibition to be held in 1891, and by his ready grasp of difficult situations often materially assisted in turning disorder into order. He was appointed president of the Education and Art Section.

In England he secured £4,500 from Lady Howard de Walden for the endowment of Montpelier Church, and £3,120 in small amounts for general purposes.

He closed his diary for the year thus:

Am very thankful for all the mercies of this year.

Hope to try during the coming year to make the most of each day's strength in doing just what I can for Christ without fretting about the imperfection of the day's work or anxiety about what has to be done to-morrow.

And in the following March he wrote:

Very tired with much and long-continued brain-work for the last few months. Have apparently been obliged to carry through the work of organizing, or reorganizing, correspondence, and amending of canons. But must remember that I can only do well a moderate amount of work. As I seem unable to work otherwise than rapidly and strenuously while I am at it, I must take periods of rest. That is, if it be, as I hope may be God's will to make further real use of me in His Church here.

In February, 1890, in answering criticism in a local newspaper, he wrote:

. . . I consider it is one of the unavoidable difficulties of the present system (balanced, of course, by many advantages) that schools cannot always be placed just where they are needed. I have, however, steadily set my face against school enterprises which look like mere competition with other schools. But in doing so I have had to face the fact that the mere distance limit is not a sufficient test as to whether or not a school is needed. When cases have been referred to me for my comments, either of complaints

by our clergy against others or by others against them, of intrusion, I have always held and stated that while the distance limit is a good rule to go by in country districts with an average population, there are numerous village (as well as town) centres to which the children of the surrounding neighbourhood find it more convenient to go to the schools of their respective denominations, than they would find it to attend schools of any denomination if spread over the neighbourhood at distances of three miles apart.

In a letter to a prominent Churchman, the late W. A. Sabonadière of Arntully, he gave his views on church-building:

Architecturally, I like a cruciform church. But unless a church in that style can be built much larger than is needed for the actual accommodation of worshippers, it fails to meet our needs in this Diocese: for a large part of the congregation cannot see the Bishop or clergyman when ministering at the Holy Table; services and functions in which such ministrations form a large part are frequent, and in cruciform churches are often disorderly or, at least, much disturbed through the efforts of the people to see.

I could not sanction an appeal to our people or others for funds for a cruciform church large enough to get over these objections when we have so much that requires to be done in building churches and supporting clergy, which we cannot do for lack of funds.

Those are my views and the reasons for them, in which you would, I think, concur if you travelled about with me for a fortnight.

When the Bishop wished to introduce into Jamaica the scriptural idea of women's service on a proper basis he turned for assistance to, amongst others, the Mildmay Institution, founded by the Rev. William Pennefather, in 1860.

After much persuasion of the Bishop, who foresaw what good would result, two deaconesses, Sister Isabel (Wise) and Sister Kate (Vick), arrived in August from Mildmay, and were set apart for the service of the Church by the Bishop. The Deaconess Home was opened in Hanover Street, Kingston, and the work then organized gradually spread under his guidance throughout the island, Mildmay taking a friendly interest therein.

In that year he edited "Sermons for the Use of Catechists and Lay Readers, Diocese of Jamaica."

BELMONT ORPHANAGE

BELMONT HOUSE

In October he commenced work on "the new Orphanage," which became the Belmont Orphanage, and was ever in his thoughts.

On the 24th of February, 1891, he started in the *Atrato*, for Barbados, to attend the Provincial Synod, accompanied by Bishop Douêt, returning to Jamaica on March the 6th. Archdeacon Holme, of St. Kitts, was elected and consecrated Bishop of Honduras.

In May he presided at a conference, which he had suggested at the Mico College of representatives of various denominations on Educational Questions, at which substantial agreement was arrived at as to what was needful to be done to secure a satisfactory educational measure. He noted:

> The points will have to be put into form of a Bill on Primary and another on Secondary Education, to be submitted to the Government, and it is to be hoped eventually to the Legislature. But conferences must be held in various parts of the island to educate and unite public opinion. All this means much extra work and anxiety for me; but it must be done (D.V.), and, if education on a sound religious basis can be secured here in perpetuity and in a manner and to an extent sufficient to meet the growing needs of the people, it will be labour well spent.

This resulted in the passing of laws on education which are in force to-day.

On a tour round the island lasting from September 1st to the 16th he received a telegram from the Primate asking him to go to England on Honduras business. At the same time he was present at the death of his brother-in-law, the Rev. David Brooke Panton.* "A great loss to his family, to his Church, and to me." At the funeral there were several thousand persons present. "I gave an address in Mandeville Church, to those who could get inside, while they were waiting for the friends to arrive who were coming from Kingston by train." He added: "It was an occasion never to be

* He was for some years rector of Birnam Wood, and later, for twenty-two years, rector of Mandeville. He was fifty-nine years old when he died.

forgotten. The sermon had been preached by the life of the man; and all that I needed to do (though that was in broken words) was to remind them of the life. May my last end be like his !"

In September his half-brother, the Rev. E. A. Nuttall, arrived from England on a sea trip for the benefit of his health, which had broken down while working at Burton-on-Trent. He returned with the Bishop when he sailed, in October, in R.M.S. *Don* for England, going on behalf of the Primate of the West Indies, the chief object being to find additional resources for the salary of the Bishop of Honduras, and then a man to succeed the late Bishop Holme, who died from the results of exposure after shipwreck, soon after his consecration.

On the voyage he read the Life of Archbishop Tait. He wrote:

It has had a deep interest to me for many reasons, and not least because I can best describe my own aims and efforts by saying that I have steadily tried, and with some success, to do on a small scale in Jamaica what he did on a great scale in England. In seeking to broaden and deepen the Church's influence so that it may mould the life of all the people, I have had in my smaller sphere two important differences from the conditions under which Archbishop Tait worked. One is that I am Bishop of a disestablished church. The other is that I have naturally a stronger sense than he had of the corporate life of the Church irrespective of all accessories.

There are some serious drawbacks and some advantages in the kind of preparation I had for the main work of my life. There is a great and continuous strain involved in starting some and steadily pursuing other studies during the working period. I mean those studies which many men are well advanced in before the close of their university career; and the classical knowledge acquired in this way can never have the finish and precision which come through a long course of training at public school and college, unless one's life were a good deal devoted to teaching classics. On the other hand, there is perhaps a clearer and firmer grasp of subjects studied in the way I have had to study, and greater breadth and completeness of view. At least, it has often appeared to me that this was the case when I have had occasion to cross swords with opponents whom I expected to find greatly my superiors. And in regard to the manifold secular affairs which the Bishop of Jamaica needs to

understand fully, including such matters as plans for church, school, and parsonage buildings, estimating probable cost, judging of quality and value of work done, and the like, the drudgery I went through in my father's office and in connection with his building operations (when I should have been at school, or when school hours were over), and the knowledge of farming operations which I acquired later, have proved of great use to me.

> "There is a Providence that shapes our ends,
> Rough-hew them as we will."

The Bishop visited Cambridge, when he interviewed various men whom he was seeking to interest in and secure for Jamaica work.

Then there was a drawing-room meeting at Mr. Klein's, Belsize Park, for Jamaica. Dr. Tremlett, the vicar of St. Peter's, the church near by, presided and spoke at length. Archdeacon Brooks spoke, and the Rev. W. J. Oldfield gave his testimony in a few words. A good many old Jamaica friends (as well as others) were present, including Lady Musgrave, the widow of Sir Anthony Musgrave, a former Governor of Jamaica. He then attended a Standing Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He recorded:

Large attendance. Stated my case for Honduras. Apparently won them all over. No actual grants can be made till the regular time in March, 1892, but Chairman (Bishop of St. Albans), Canon Gregory, and others, on behalf of the rest, expressed their desire and determination to give help in the form and to the extent I had asked when the time arrives next March; in the meantime they passed a general resolution expressive of sympathy and desire to help.

Met the Archbishop of Canterbury [Benson] at Lambeth by appointment in the evening and drove over with him to Addington Park in company also with the new Bishop (Barlow) of North Queensland. Found everyone at Addington as genial as usual. Much discussion after dinner to a late hour with the Archbishop on Honduras matters. Eventually he saw everything in what I believe to be the true light; and will help all he can in the object of my mission to England. We had considerable talk about men as well as money.

He a little later met the Standing Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The Committee recommended to the general meeting, in December, an immediate unconditional grant of £1,000 to the Episcopal Endowment Fund.

He then visited Liverpool to see Dr. Taylor, of the Taylor Trust. Then he went on to Manchester, and on the 11th to Thornton-in-Craven, where he was met by a son of his brother Ezra.

At this time he had a long and interesting interview with Lady Howard de Walden, who promised that she would give further substantial help to the Theological College, besides what was already promised.

He attended a special meeting of Colonial Bishoprics Council, summoned to hear his statement about Honduras. The Archbishop of Canterbury was in the chair; and the Archbishop of York and several principal members of the Council, were present. He carried the meeting with him. They gave what he had asked for—£1,000 at once unconditionally, and £1,000 to be paid hereafter in instalments to meet other moneys raised. After the meeting the Archbishop of York (Maclagan), whom he had not previously seen during this visit to England, spoke with him for some time "in his usual kind and loving way."

On one day he records:

> Heavy correspondence, and many interviews during the day including making arrangements with Rev. R. W. Bush (my London Commissary) as to course to be pursued in making further enquiries respecting persons suggested for Bishopric of Honduras. After all particulars ascertained *re* Canon Bailey, and Mr. Tucker, secretary of S.P.G., will meet, and send on to me with all particulars, if possible, three names. I will then send them to our Primate. The West Indian Bishops will then elect by correspondence. And, at the request of our Primate, the Archbishop of Canterbury will consecrate in England.

On Sunday, the 22nd, he preached at St. Peter's, Belsize Park, for Jamaica, from Ephesians iii. 8, contrasting the Jamaica black people with those in Africa, from whose ranks their forefathers were drawn.

When he left in the *Don*, on the 25th, Miss Adelaide

Klein, who had volunteered for work in Jamaica, accompanied him.*

On the 15th of December he recorded:

Meeting of Education Conference to arrange presentation of recommendations to Government. This should have been done while I was away. But was not!

On the 19th (Saturday):

Dinner at King's House. Could not easily avoid this. Will ask them not to invite self and clergy on Saturdays.

At this time he was much impressed by the idea of making the Exhibition Buildings a permanent institution to be the home of the Institute of Jamaica. On the 13th of January he recorded: "I spoke there at a large meeting in East Wing, Exhibition Building, on retaining building for permanent purposes of instruction and recreation," and he addressed many other meetings on the same subject, but it all came to nothing, mainly for financial reasons and also on account of the distance from Kingston. It was one of the few cases in which his foresight failed him. The site is almost as unsuitable for the purpose to-day as it was then.

At the end of the Synod of 1892 he wrote:

Synod 10 to 4 p.m., including Diocesan Council Meeting, etc. Business with clergy kept me till 5.30. Much business done; no time wasted; many occasions on which discussions, etc., spiritually helpful to all: business part, even when dry and involving severe criticism, a good education of younger members in matters of real practical importance, and including sound morality in business affairs. Two or three personal matters were very painful. The number of clergy who do not know how to maintain a Christian deportment which includes good manners is happily now very small.

On the 26th of February the Governor, Sir Henry Blake, went to see him at 7 a.m. in reference to the Education Bills then before the Legislative Council. He urged him strongly to take a bolder course in the way of extending the facilities for the work of Education.

* She died in 1893, and lies buried at Halfway Tree.

On Whit Sunday he preached at the evening service out-doors, under a cotton-tree, in the St. John's, Swallowfield, district, on the subject of the day.

On a country trip he recorded, on the 24th of June:

Hired strong horses and buggy from the Boston Fruit Company, and we started at half-past 6 a.m. from Port Antonio Rectory (accompanied by Rev. T. Harty) for Moore Town. Had the bell rung on arrival at the church. Candidates soon assembled, many crossing the rivers with difficulty. The clergyman and some members of the congregation came later. Then the rain came down heavily. We did the best we could as to service. I gave several addresses on various points. Confirmed 16 males, 36 females, total 52, including some belonging to Port Antonio who live across the Rio Grande. Met those of the Church Committee present and discussed plans for the repairs of the church and parsonage. We started for Port Antonio; the rain was still falling and three unbridged rivers were very heavy. It was very difficult to cross them. My robe case and cloaks had to be carried across on men's heads. The water rushed through the buggy nearly up to the seat. Was thankful to get to Port Antonio safely.

At a Diocesan Council meeting which had ended earlier than usual, the Bishop proceeded to give the members of the Council present a homily on temperance. A layman, at the close, said: "It is all very well, Bishop, but you yourself look as though you would be all the better for a little rum and water." The Bishop replied: "No, I never take anything stronger than Rhapsodia" (a temperance drink in vogue at that period). To which the layman retorted: "If you drink Rhapsodia you can leave rum and water alone, as there is a good deal more alcohol contained in it."

As an instance of the manner in which, as a rule, he suffered fools gladly one may record that at another meeting the Bishop said, as was sometimes his wont: "Now, gentlemen, I must ask your most earnest attention, as this is a matter of considerable importance." After he had explained the matter at some length and with great exactness, one of the older of his clergy rose, and before he had spoken ten words fairly proved that he had failed to grasp the subject under discussion. The

Bishop merely heaved a sigh and said, "Will you kindly sit down, Mr.——, I fear I must recapitulate a few of the salient points."

On the 19th of July was held the first meeting of the Board of Education, for supervising the work of Primary Education and starting some Secondary Education work. Of this Board he was then and for each successive year, until 1902, when he felt compelled by increase of work to resign, elected Vice-Chairman; the Superintending Inspector of Schools (later Director) being Chairman *ex-officio*. He to the last gave ungrudging time and attention to the arduous duties of the Board.

On the 5th of August he received a telegram from Demerara stating that the Primate was ill, and the meeting of the Provincial Synod was postponed. He wrote in his diary:

I am sorry for the disappointment to the Primate and the people there who had long looked forward to this as a great occasion, and for the delay in filling up the See of Honduras there is additional cause of regret. Personally I am very tired, and the relief from that journey, work, responsibility, at this time is great. If the dear old Primate should be taken from us, in many respects it will be a most sad and irreparable loss. One cannot think of his removal as otherwise than gain to himself.

On the 18th of October Sir Henry Blake, the Governor, laid the corner-stone of the Theological College, erected in the grounds of Bishop's Lodge, and there was a great gathering, but the ceremony was spoiled by the rain.

While travelling in St. Ann, the Bishop records:

On to Claremont. It was dark before we could reach Green Park. Though I asked Mr. Chandler to lead the way across the park with his buggy going slowly, and tried to get my man to follow close behind, he managed to upset the buggy and himself on to me, by running up the side of the bank, just as we were leaving the park. It was pure wilfulness and carelessness. But it was a serious accident, and might have been an alarming one. The buggy was much broken and my clothes cut, leg cut, and my ribs and shoulder bruised; but, thank God, no bones broken. Eventually, with help, we got to Mr. Chandler's house, where I had hot bath, etc.

In November the Primate of the West Indies, Bishop Austin, died, and on Bishop Nuttall fell the duty of making arrangements for the election of a successor.

In this year (1892) he published by request "The Importance and Possibility of attaining Reliable Religious Knowledge. An address to men delivered by the Bishop of Jamaica in the Parish Church, Kingston," and at that time he sowed the seed of the church extension which later took place in Kingston.

On the 16th he recorded:

> At 4 went to St. George's Church to marry a couple whom I had baptized in infancy, and confirmed as young people, and both of whose fathers and mothers I had married.

On the 2nd of February, 1893, the preliminary decision was given in the Clarke case, sustaining an objection on technical grounds to the right of the corporate body to sue. This was what he expected, and the work had to be gone over in some form, if Mr. Clarke did not retire, or the Church determined to take no further action.

On the 28th of March he lodged in the Colonial Bank to the credit of the Diocesan Church Fund a cheque for £600 sent by an anonymous donor (name to remain unknown to any one but himself) for the Deaconess Home Building Fund. This enabled him to claim the £150 conditionally promised by the S.P.C.K. and so clear off the building debt.

> Some time ago (he wrote) I had an offer of substantial help to be given by kind friends who proposed to get up a theatrical entertainment for this purpose. After consulting with the Sisters I wrote expressing my strong appreciation (which I truly felt) of the intended kindness, but declining the help in that form as it was against my long and firmly held principles to receive money for such a purpose raised in such a way. The entertainment was held, and the result of the special efforts made (as regards the art, the business management, and the personal interest) was a great success, especially financially, and I have been much commented on in certain circles for throwing away the chance of such substantial help. Some friends of the institution who agreed with me have been asking

God to send the needed help. It has come. And unbelief is rebuked.

On the same day he wrote:

Meeting of the Diocesan Council to-day to decide whether the appeal against the Chief Justice's decision in the Clarke case should be prosecuted or not. Agreed to drop the case. If necessary fresh proceedings may have to be started later on. But I hope not. It is a clear case of failure of justice. I do not doubt the Chief Justice's decision, even on the technical point he has dealt with, is contrary to the law and the facts, but the lack of evidence presented to the court on the point and the confused statement of claim presented by our lawyers, no doubt led to the decision. And as in appealing in this case we cannot get in fresh evidence or a fresh statement of claim, dropping the action is the prudent course, especially as the full court would consist of the Chief Justice himself and two others. I shall be glad if this stay of proceedings opens another way of settlement.

During the session of the Synod in 1893 the Bishop, in response to requests by members of the Synod, made a lengthy statement with regard to the Clarke case. He said:

As regards the purely legal aspects of the question the state of the case is this: The Rev. Henry Clarke was, by an Ecclesiastical Court held in September, 1890, declared to have committed grave ecclesiastical offences, and the sentence was suspension from office for two years, and deprivation of benefice. He repudiated the authority of the court, and ignored its decisions, and continued to minister in the Parish Church of Savanna-la-Mar, Westmoreland, which had not been vested in the Incorporated Lay Body of the Church of England in Jamaica. On the retirement from the service of the Church and the State of the Rev. Josias Cork, the State-paid rector of Westmoreland who, for a long time, had been performing the duties of rector of St. Ann's Bay, the Governor, by the usual order published in the *Jamaica Gazette*, vested the Savanna-la-Mar Church in the Incorporated Lay Body. In pursuance of their responsibilities as trustees, the Incorporated Lay Body demanded possession of the church, which Mr. Clarke refused. Then the Incorporated Lay Body, having no other resource, commenced an action in the Supreme Court to secure possession. The case was tried three weeks ago, before Sir Adam Gib Ellis, Chief Justice of Jamaica, and judgment was given on the 2nd instant. That judgment is to the effect that the case is dis-

missed on the ground that the Governor's vesting order was invalid, because it was based on the recital that the rectory of Westmoreland was vacant by the retirement of the Rev. Josias Cork in December, 1891, whereas in the Chief Justice's opinion, Mr. Cork vacated that rectory when he removed to St. Ann's Bay; and the Governor's vesting order being invalid, according to the judgment, the Incorporated Lay Body were not the legal holders of the property, and therefore had no right to sue. The Chief Justice closed his judgment in the following words:

"I desire to add that it is with regret that I find myself constrained to sustain the preliminary objection as a bar to the consideration of the case on its merits, and to the definitive settlement one way or another of the real questions at issue between the parties to this suit."

CHAPTER V

1893–1900

PRIMATE OF THE WEST INDIES

ON the 26th of May, 1893, the Bishop received notification from Bishop Jackson of Antigua of his election as Primate of the Province, by vote of all the Bishops except the Bishop of Trinidad. He called a special meeting of the Diocesan Council, to consider what he should do. He felt very doubtful as to accepting the office, though very sensible of the honour done him. At a largely attended meeting of the Council all urged on him, as a duty, the acceptance of the post. He wrote:

> It seems right, in view of all the points urged, to accept the honour and responsibility, though I do it with a keen sense of my unworthiness. It would have been a source of great pleasure to me if Bishop Jackson of Antigua could have undertaken the work.

At this time much progress was made in church extension in Kingston and the neighbourhood. He removed, in the absence of the Warden, from the cottage at Halfway Tree, to the Theological College.

On the 14th of September the corner-stone of Bishop's Lodge was laid by Lady Blake, and the formal opening of the Theological College took place.

In 1893 was published in Kingston "The Churchman's Manual," a book of instruction and devotion intended chiefly for the use of members of the Church of England in Jamaica, for which he had been collecting and arranging material for many years. Even then his duties were so onerous that he said in the preface:

My own time is so completely occupied with multifarious and often distracting and apparently incongruous, public, and private duties, that I have had to do all the writing, compiling, rearranging, and abridging necessary, in mere snatches of time, often not more than ten minutes long, between important business engagements.

This was typical of the methodical manner in which he turned every minute of a busy life to its fullest account. A second edition of the Manual was published in London and New York in answer to a request for it in other parts of the West Indies and in England, the preface being dated London, July 16th, 1894; and in 1912 he published through the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the catechism contained therein, under the title of "Catechisms and Devotions for children and young people."

In December, while on a tour, he wrote:

Then started for Balaclava. Beautiful engineering work on new road. But rough, no buggy or other vehicle been over it before. Fine fresh country. Then came to place where road unfinished, though I had been promised it should be when arranged to drive this way. But weather had hindered; took out horses and buggy, partly lifted and partly dragged last mile. Some parts dangerous. Girders just put loosely across the piers of bridge this morning. Got buggy over safely enough with plenty of men to help. Horses should not have been attempted to be got over; approaches to bridge unfinished. Altogether a dangerous experiment. Bob docile and spirited, and managed to get over safely, to my great relief. But I could not allow the other horse, Rodney, to be tried; but ascertaining there was a fording two or three miles up the river, I sent him round. All the other horses in the cavalcade accompanying me were similarly sent round. If I had known just what the facts of the road were I should have arranged to send the horses by the fording from the first. However, with nothing worse than much anxiety and walking, we managed to get horses and buggy together on the Balaclava side of the river into the old and open road.

On the 30th of January, 1894, he recorded: "Opening service [of Synod] at 11. Bishop Littlejohn with us. Archdeacon Ramson preached. Business commenced at 4. I delivered a long address, necessary, on

various matters. Aimed at being just, fair, and faithful, but moderate in statement. Shall incur much odium by some things I was obliged to say, but honesty before God and pressing moral and spiritual needs rendered it necessary."

In his address he alluded at length to the then rising cult of Bedwardism.* He wound up as follows:

> And the need of our considering this question now, and the application of all this to our present circumstances, lie in the fact that we ought as a Church to face the question: What is to be our attitude towards such manifestations as that at August Town and the people who go there? Our methods of work are right in the main. We know that from a world-wide and long experience. We may need to adapt them in points of detail to the needs of some of our people. That, in fact, we have done and are doing successfully. We are succeeding (by God's blessing) in training up a people, many of whom have already become Christians in fact as well as in name—intelligent, enlightened, religious, energetic, free, progressive. We also know that there are multitudes in connection with our churches who are only in the first stages of this growth; and as regards these we cherish the hope that we shall see them steadily benefited by the various efforts being made to improve their condition. But what of the unreached and ignorant multitudes from whom, in the main, the occasional outbursts of superstition like August Town† and Haddo‡ and the Moneague water are fed? Are we going to do our duty by these outside multitudes, and those other multitudes who are only on the fringe of our churches?
>
> Woe will be unto us if we rest contented in the respectability of our well-ordered congregations, and if we do not (clergy and people) go out into the highways and hedges, and the streets and lanes, and compel them to come in.

After referring at length to Elementary Education, he dealt with Secondary Education, and pleaded for assistance to private schools, which has only been recently given.

* Bedward was in May, 1921, after a career of over thirty years, sent to the lunatic asylum.

† Bedward's centre in St. Andrew.

‡ In Hanover, the stronghold of a "Dr." Stewart, who effected many cures by means of herbs.

The question of Secondary Education is now before the country in practical shape in the proposal for establishing at Montego Bay, the first public school of the kind under the Secondary Education Law, No. 32 of 1892. I am still strongly of opinion that a great mistake was made by the Legislature in removing from the Secondary Education Bill the clauses which were in it on its introduction to the Legislative Council, providing for giving assistance to such private or denominational secondary schools as might prove their efficiency by a specified examination.*

The mutilated Bill which was passed into law will serve a valuable public purpose in certain localities; but the complete Bill would have served the interest of education generally much better; would have obviated some serious social and religious difficulties which are sure to arise in districts where Government schools are the only secondary schools available; and would have established a composite system of secondary education much cheaper, more satisfactory to all classes, and more efficient than a purely Government system. I hope those discarded clauses may yet be inserted in the law.

On the 13th of April the Rev. Henry Clarke agreed to give up possession of Savanna-la-Mar Church, directing his son Henry to give Bishop Douèt possession. Thus ended a very tiresome case.

On the 1st of May, 1894, the Primate sailed in the *Para* for England, and was away until November. He devoted much time to interviews with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and other agencies which he felt he could influence in connection with Church work in Jamaica. He started a society in England in aid of the Jamaica Church, the Jamaica Church Aid Association, with a magazine to impart information which became the *Jamaica*. The society, which later developed branches in Oxford, Bristol, Bournemouth, Manchester, Rochester, Torquay, Lewisham, and other parts of England, has not infrequently contributed liberally in aid of the Jamaica Church when in special need, in addition to supplying regular assistance. He also finally arranged,

* This principle was at last admitted by the Jamaica Legislature in 1920.

after prolonged negotiations, for the affiliation of the Theological College with Durham University.

He took part in a conference which had for its object the placing on a better footing of the Rio Pongo Mission in Sierra Leone, and from that time onward he did all he could to encourage the sending of Jamaica Missionaries to West Africa.

His visits included Farnham Castle, Staines, Lambeth Palace, Mildmay Hospital, Canterbury, Burgh Castle, Wisbech, Lynn, Buxton, where he drank the waters, Haddon Hall and Chatsworth, Sheffield, Bryngwran, Barmouth, Chester and Manchester, and a trip in Dr. Tremlett's yacht to Queensborough and Chatham.

He left Southampton on the 24th of October. At Barbados he went to see Bishop Bree and discussed arrangements for the Provincial Synod, and landed in Jamaica on the 10th of November. But on the 19th of February, 1895, he sailed again in the *Medway* with Bishop Douèt for the Provincial Synod. Barbados was reached on the 23rd, and on the 25th he and Bishop Douèt sailed for Demerara in R.M.S. *Dee* with the Bishop of Barbados, Bishop Coadjutor of Antigua, Rev. Mr. Phillips, Chaplain to the Bishop of Barbados, and the Rev. C. Branch, Chaplain to the Coadjutor Bishop of Antigua. Sir Edward O'Malley, a former Attorney-General of Jamaica, was on board with his wife and daughter; he was going as Chief Justice to Demerara. On the 27th, Ash Wednesday, they landed at Georgetown. While there he visited the Chinese Church (St. Saviour's) of which Archdeacon Castell had the oversight, with a Chinese catechist in charge. There were a large number of Chinese present, who had, on a short notice of the intention of the Primate to visit them, come to meet him. He was introduced to them by the Bishop, and gave them a short address through an interpreter, and then the blessing. He had long been interested in this Chinese church, and was glad to meet the members, who seemed to be earnest Christians.

He delivered an address at a meeting of the Bishops

of the Provincial Synod and of clergy and laity on the Church in the Province generally and the constitution and work of the Provincial Synod. He was asked to publish the address for general information, and it was subsequently printed at Kingston.

He wrote:

In addition to visits paid on previous days to various parts of the town, and the Botanical Gardens, this afternoon I went with Bishop Douèt over the Public Offices, the Law Courts, and the Museum and Reading-Room. They all impressed me as very creditable, and some of them as imposing buildings; certainly much in advance of our Jamaica ones. The Museum is very interesting and deserves a couple of days spent on careful study of its contents. The town itself is, no doubt, the finest in the West Indies, and has some specially interesting features, particularly the broad streets with the open dykes and the avenues of trees. The Colony is a magnificent one, but for many miles inland it is very flat, so that outside Georgetown there is nothing to be seen but the rivers and the bush, or the estates on the banks. The sugar industry is at present much depressed, but many of the estates are very fine.

Of the Synod he noted:

There is reason to believe that it was well to push through the many obstacles which stood in the way of our holding the Synod here at this time. Our visit was timely as regards this Diocese: it has been good for us all to make the acquaintance of the Bishop of Guiana; and I hope he will be none the worse for knowing something of us and our work. And much useful business has been done by the Synod.

Leaving Georgetown on the 7th of March in the *Dee*, he reached Barbados on the 9th of March, and Kingston on the 15th.

While pressed by much correspondence, the Primate made time to help enquirers who wrote to him in their troubles. He wrote to a friend:

In regard to baptism I am sending you another little book. I think I already sent you one by Barnes-Lawrence entitled "Infant Baptism." This one is by Rev. Hubert Brooke, and is entitled "Baptized—How, Who, and Why." I think for popular

use it puts the case clearly and well—the interpretation being (on the point you mention) the hypothetical view, such as you mention that Bishop Ryle holds. I think this view is a consistent one, quite arguable and tenable, and the only possible one if everywhere you interpret regeneration to mean or to include a change of nature. But this does not seem to me to be always its scriptural sense, or the sense in which it was applied to baptism by earlier and later ecclesiastical writers; and my use of the Prayer Book language in the baptismal offices is real and unfaltering because I can bear in mind these two senses of the word, and can hold and teach that there are some important spiritual blessings always associated with baptism, deserving, according to the general usage of the word, to be called regeneration, and that there are many cases in which the regeneration in its deepest spiritual sense takes place in baptism.

I think you would be glad to see clearly stated, rather more fully, these points: and if you could get hold of the late Dr. Boultbee's book on the Thirty-Nine Articles, you would find therein an admirably clear statement of the various views of baptism. Dean Vaughan's (of the Temple) writings contain some clear, strong statements in favour of what I have explained as the old and ecclesiastical, rather than the more modern, sense of the word Regeneration in regard to baptism. If you can, at least try to get hold of his book "Liturgy and Worship of the Church of England," published by Macmillan. A small book by Moule of Cambridge, "Christian Doctrine," published by, I think, Elliot Stock, you would value much for many reasons and uses. . . .

On the 27th of April he sailed in the *Orinoco*, accompanied by the Rev. H. H. Kilburn as Chaplain, to organize church matters on the Isthmus of Panama.

It should surely not have been necessary that a Primate should have to go to Colon in order to instil an elementary knowledge of ventilation into those concerned.

Among the smaller, but not unimportant matters, I urged an endeavour to arrange with the Panama Railroad Company, to whom the church belongs, to have the windows put on pivots. At present every one is a fixture. The lack of ventilation leads to a terrible atmospheric condition, with the thermometer approaching 100°, the church filled with double the number of people it is calculated to hold, and the doors and passages blocked. If this defect were remedied, it would be a comparatively cool building, being lofty and of stone. It is a fine church, and all its appointments are in good order.

At Gorgona he held, in the large building given by the Canal Company for use as church and school,

A touching series of services. A Jamaica community in the heart of Central America, trying amid many difficulties to maintain their faith and Christian character and to influence others for good. There were many Spanish or Columbian, Indian, and Chinese lookers-on.

At Panama, after several meetings, he went to look over the Cathedral of St. Barbara, accompanied by two priests, sent by the Bishop to have the Cathedral opened for them and to show them through it. "A large, and in some respects a fine building. Interior arrangements imperfect: has at the 'west' end (which is really the south) a rough, untidy appearance. Small organ: bells very poor, as they all seem to be on the Isthmus."

He found the Bishop's palace—a fine building, surmounted by a cross; but "to us it was unfitting to see one wing of the palace devoted to the purposes of the Panama Lottery, with its appropriate sign-board. Gambling and lotteries seem to have a special fascination for Spanish people everywhere."

When on board the *Louisianian*, of the East India and Pacific Line, he wrote:

This has been a time of hard, trying work; so much to get through in a little time. But I have obtained much knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs here and verified and modified opinions and information previously possessed respecting various matters and individuals. All this has now to be put into shape for action by myself and the Bishop of Honduras and others. I am much struck with the extent to which everywhere on the Isthmus English-speaking people, and especially Jamaicans, are doing the work of the country. The number of the children of our people needing teaching is very great.

In this year he played a prominent part in the inauguration of the Jamaica Agricultural Society, and for a time he took practical interest in its management.

On the 5th of July the Bishop of Sierra Leone and Mrs. Ingham visited Jamaica. They saw a good deal

of the island—Chapelton, Frankfield, Spanish Town, Stony Hill and Mandeville, leaving on the 27th for Bermuda.

While on a visitation in the west end he wrote in September:

> Lucea Church Committee at 2 p.m. This finished the formal business of this visitation, but various matters of business and personal interviews kept me employed till 10 p.m. All through the visitation, besides the specified services and personally announced meetings, I have had many supplementary meetings and addresses, and business of all kinds awaiting my advice and decision. I do not know if the clergy and congregations are depending too much on these visits for the settlement of matters. But certainly there are everywhere matters in which, for fear of giving offence to one or another, or for other reasons, the local authorities are either unable or are disinclined to act.

On the 5th of February, 1896, the new Mico College was formally opened by the Governor, Sir Henry Blake, and

> It was a successful day as far as all the arrangements and their carrying-out were concerned. This practically brings to a close the heavy responsibility I have had in many ways about these buildings, the trustees and all concerned being fully satisfied as to cost, style and suitability. Some minor additions and improvements arranged for.

In this year the Annual Synod was held at Montego Bay. In his address he dealt with the question of Christian Unity as between the Church of England and Nonconformists on the one hand, and the Roman Catholic Church on the other, especially indicating the helps and hindrances disclosed by the events of 1895, referring, amongst other matters, to the letter addressed by the Pope to the English people. The Right Rev. C. Gordon, D.D., Bishop of Thyatira and Vicar Apostolic of Jamaica, in his Lenten pastoral, took objection to certain remarks of Bishop Nuttall, particularly his reference to the worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Roman Church.

A controversy ensued, in which each Bishop stoutly maintained his own position, Bishop Nuttall contending

that the Roman Catholic worship of the Virgin is idolatrous, Bishop Gordon with equal firmness denying such assertion.

The controversy strikingly revealed the ability of both Bishops, but, like many such controversies, only left each opponent more firmly entrenched in his own position.

In March the Primate was the leader of a deputation to the Governor to induce the Government to withdraw a clause in the Coolie Bill then before the Legislature, sanctioning legal polygamy in the island.

I recommended that, instead, directions be sent to immigration agent in India not to send on immigrants having more than one wife. I pointed out there were few such. Governor agreed.

On the 14th of April the Primate left Jamaica for Antigua in the *Atrato*, transhipping at Barbados into the *Eden*.

Did not go ashore. Was doubtful if the Bishop could conveniently receive me, not expecting me, and knew he would press me to stay with him if I let him know I was here. Also felt that the rest on board ship (the vessel being quiet in the open harbour) would do me good.

Touching at St. Lucia, Martinique, Dominica, Guadaloupe and Montserrat, Antigua was reached on the 22nd.

The ceremonial of the enthroning of Bishop Branch took place on the morrow.

There was a large attendance. The Chancellor read the official documents from the Archbishop of Canterbury and myself confirming the appointment, the two Archdeacons led the Bishop to the throne, promising loyalty on behalf of themselves and the clergy: the Bishop made promises of faithful and lawful exercise of authority: then I offered prayer. Instead of the sermon at the usual place in the Communion Office the Bishop of Antigua read the charge. The Administration followed. This important service was simple and impressive.

Then followed the Synod.

He went to see Skerritts—a reformatory and model farm, then recently started by the late Governor of Antigua (Sir W. F. Haynes-Smith). There were about

two hundred boys. He found it an interesting experiment, to a certain extent, on the lines of the Jamaica Boys' Reformatory, but in some respects different, especially as regards the stock-raising.

Leaving on the 30th of April, he reached Jamaica, by way of Barbados, on the 8th of May.

One may here include reminiscences of his personal influence on his clergy and his pastoral visits, written by the Rev. S. A. Swaby:

I first saw and heard the Archbishop at my confirmation, which was within a year of his consecration as Bishop of Jamaica. The scene lives in my memory and his words are treasured there, words that left fastened in one's heart, as his words invariably did, some truth that ever since through storm and mist has held its place. It was the beginning of a spiritual relationship to which I now thankfully give expression. My college life is remembered most for his words of counsel; his power of lucid exposition; his emphasis on details, and his exacting standard of carefulness and promptness in correspondence; his magnificent power of painstaking, the splendid example of his industry; and, most of all, his unworldliness. The interviews which preceded my ordination were such as showed how intensely he felt the greatness and possibilities of the Ministry, and how anxious he was to prove in every way a Father-in-God to his clergy. It was not, however, until some years after my ordination that I had the privilege and honour to know him intimately. Then he came on an Episcopal visit to Highgate and stayed at the rectory. It was the beginning of many more visits which are now lovingly remembered. To know the Archbishop in his official capacity was to revere and honour him; but to know him in the home was to love him.

In him, as it was said of Archbishop Temple, the conscience and the will were allies and the result was a life of duty.

A great disciplinarian and a born governor of men, he was often regarded as austere and exacting in his business hours, but as he once said to me: "I do wish it were possible for me to act otherwise, but I should never accomplish my varied duties were I not strictly business-like."

He was the first citizen of his Diocese, more influential than its political leaders, not by his official dignity, but because the active duties of his post gave occasion for the display in a large sphere of the civic virtues he possessed. His was an inexhaustible public spirit; untiring energy; perfect candour and honesty; quick and generous sympathy with every form of goodness. He made a

reverent and unselfish use of a majestic, robust mind. He created what may be termed a new type of the Episcopate—a Bishop among his people. But it is of the Archbishop as a guest that it is my special privilege to write.

The rectory of Highgate is pleasantly situated and affords an appreciable change from the heat of Kingston. He came once to spend four days at the rectory, and a charming guest we found him, and an exceedingly pleasant companion. To those who ministered to him service was a delight. There was in him "the little child that leads them," and only those who knew him most in the home and private life knew his greatness was emphasized in his gentleness, meekness, and sweet reasonableness.

On one occasion at the rectory our conversation turned on the subject of prayer, and I then asked him what was his favourite attitude of mind in approaching God. His reply disclosed that childlike faith which was a marked trait of his beautiful Christian character.

"Often," he said, "with a hard and trying day before me with its many problems to solve, I have simply looked up and said the morning hymn," which he then repeated—"My Father, for another night of quiet sleep and rest," etc.—and at the closing verse he paused and said how sweet it is to say, "My Father, for His sake, I pray, Thy child accept and bless," etc. "Yes, it is as a child I love most to go to Him."

Such was the man whom every class in the island loved because he loved them all. His last visit to the rectory was for the purpose of taking part in the services and functions arranged to celebrate the completion of twenty years of my ministry in the parish. He very kindly put aside other engagements that he might be present on that occasion.

In the social festivities which followed at the rectory he participated most cordially and cheerfully. For everyone he had a pleasant word, and his presence there was most graphically described by a dear Christian woman as "This is just like the Master at the Marriage Feast."

My absence from the island prevented my being with him in the closing years of his life. We met for the last time at the Church House, Westminster, at a meeting held (in honour of Her Royal Highness Princess Marie Louise, who had just returned from a visit to Jamaica, as well as) to welcome the Archbishop, who had recently recovered from a severe illness and had come over to attend the special conference of Bishops. At his request I was one of the speakers, and then was afforded the privilege of assuring the many friends in England that to us in Jamaica he was not only revered but loved.

In May, 1896, the Primate wrote to the Rev. John Robertson:

. . . I was interested in learning that you were to take the Three Hours' Service at St. Jude's, Kensington, on Good Friday for the first time. I was the first to introduce these services into Jamaica twenty-two years ago at my old church, St. George's, Kingston, where with, I think, two exceptions I have conducted them ever since, including this year. At first there was some suspicion and criticism, but the spiritual usefulness of the service was soon recognized. Others copied my example, and now the aspect of the city of Kingston on Good Friday is completely changed, chiefly through the spiritual interest in the day created by these special services. Everywhere our churches are full of reverent worshippers, and nowhere that I know of are there any extravagances to mar the spiritual interest and effect. . . .

On the 20th of November, 1896, he wrote to Bishop Douèt:

. . . For all your judicious care and unceasing labour in my absence I cannot thank you enough. Only those in something like the same position that I occupy can realize adequately what a blessing it is to have a Coadjutor of like opinions and feelings to one's self, who will, moreover, be sure to act so prudently and faithfully when one is away that there is no need for the slightest anxiety during the time of absence, or for undoing on one's return a single thing that has been done.

Towards the close of the year a valedictory service was held at the Parish Church, Kingston, for Mr. March and Mr. Burris and Miss Brown (to be married to Mr. Burris), who were leaving as the first Jamaica Church Missionaries of the Mission in West Africa—the Pongas Mission. The Primate wrote:

This event has been long planned, worked, and prayed for, and I trust the going of these representatives of ours to Africa will quicken and keep alive our missionary zeal. The valedictory service occupied two and a half hours, and there prevailed an earnest spirit of prayer and solemn interest.

On the 1st of January, 1897, Bishop Tugwell of Western Equatorial Africa, and Mr. Wilkinson, one of the Church Missionary Society's Secretaries, arrived as a deputation with a view to enquiries and arrangements about selecting and training missionaries for Africa.

Meetings were held at the Deaconess Home about training women for Africa.

On the 6th of January he went to Edmondson Hall, by request, to meet various Nonconformist representative ministers to discuss educational matters. "I think the meeting will have useful results. All expressed their desire to have religious teaching as now specified in the code given in the future in all schools."

To his Synod address he gave more than ordinary thought and consideration to houses for the poor. He wrote:

> Many of our poor need better house accommodation. They need it for the sake of their physical health, and for the sake of the morals of themselves and of their children. To meet this a company should be formed to build houses or to adapt existing ones to suit the poor. The company should be worked on business principles to the extent that capital would be secured and interest paid thereon at the rate of 4 or 5 per cent.; otherwise the effort could not be made to succeed permanently to an extent sufficient to accomplish what is needed. But while the plan would be thus worked on business principles and not as a charity, it should be worked in a philanthropic spirit.*

Of the duty of citizens, in the same address he said:

> It seems to me that there is a duty resting upon every man to give some share of his time and interest to benefit the whole community. Each man will work according to his own taste and gifts in such matters, but each man must do something. Our religious institutions need this, our philanthropic institutions need it, our municipal and political institutions need it, the country generally needs it. Those who are advanced in life need to do this kind of public work for the sake of showing an example to be followed by the younger generation of intelligent men in the island. Love of country and a sense of responsibility for the welfare of one's country require to be impressed on all. . . . There is a mistaken idea amongst us that prosperity can be obtained without effort and self-denial; and it needs to be dwelt on constantly that success ought not to be expected here unless men are willing to use the effort and the economy and the thrift and the self-restraint necessary to success in the agricultural life and the business life of other countries such as Canada and the United States.

* In 1910 Model Dwellings, Ltd., was incorporated on these lines

And on education:

I believe that, as regards the great bulk of our agricultural population, the education needed is one which would include fewer subjects than are now attempted to be taught in the schools, and which would teach those few essential subjects thoroughly, and with a special view to practical usefulness in the future lives of the people. I would give every facility for further teaching to specially capable boys and girls. And I would aim at getting all the people educated according to their requirements.

Education here, as elsewhere, must go on: it is the modern path of progress for all races. Everywhere education has, especially in its first stages, inevitable drawbacks familiar to all students of past and contemporary history. The true remedy for these drawbacks is to make the education of a people as widespread, as efficient, and as practical as circumstances will allow. Modern circumstances of competition demand intelligence and education in workers. Educated men make the best workers in the end, whatever may be the case during that transitional period in a country when only half the people are brought under the influence of education, and when most of these are only half educated.

At this time he recorded that at a Church Committee meeting some members made a fierce attack upon him, the cause of the anger being the failure to confirm the appointment of the acting rector. "It was not very easy to be silent under the rude taunts and misrepresentations." On occasions like these, however, his sense of humour often stood him in good stead. The Bishop suggested that each should speak out what was in his mind and endeavour to clear away misapprehensions, concluding by saying: "Some of you are, I understand, dissatisfied about my action in this matter." An old black man got up and said: "Bishop, we think that you have not enough of the Grace of God in you." He replied: "We are all agreed on that. What is the next subject?"

On the 12th of May he, accompanied by his wife and two daughters, left in the *Altai* and reached New York on the 17th. On this visit he was often accompanied in his various expeditions by Bishop Douèt. He attended, at St. Luke's Church, the service for the

inauguration of the Convention of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew for the State of New York. Bishop Littlejohn delivered a valuable address of welcome and advice. Afterwards the Convention met for business and he gave a brief address. A day or two later he visited the Girls' High School in Brooklyn. The pupils, between the ages of ten and twenty, numbered about 2,200. The Primate and Bishop Douèt went over the whole institution, seeing as much of the work as they could, being specially desirous of learning what they could of their methods, particularly the speciality of teaching high subjects to forty pupils at a time by one teacher. "It is a great and valuable institution. There are about sixty teachers of classes besides others having more general duties." He also went over the Church House of St. George's, a great centre of work. In the lower storey some poor children were being taught to memorize Scripture and other simple subjects. On other floors various things were going on—classes of Daughters of the King, reading-rooms, smoking-rooms, gymnasium, Assistant Clergy rooms at the top.

On the 26th of May the Primate and Bishop Douèt sailed from New York. At their table was Sir Ernest Satow, British Ambassador to Japan. "He is an interesting talker, and in response to questions one learns a good deal from him about Japanese and others not easily got from books."

On Sunday the 30th he wrote:

We had morning prayer in the saloon at 10.30, at which most of the first class passengers attended. Bishop Douèt read prayers, and I preached. Afterwards I went among the steerage passengers to see if they would agree to our having a service or meeting among them. The Captain thought the greater portion were Roman Catholics and would not wish a service of our conducting. However, I fixed with a few to meet them at 3. Bishop Douèt and Mr. Stewart, an earnest Presbyterian layman of New York, went with me at 3. We assembled in the steerage dining-room, which was soon filled with the people. I conducted the singing with the help of a man who played a concertina indifferently! Bishop Douèt and Mr. Stewart did the chief part

of the speaking—Bishop Douèt's address being, as I thought, specially appropriate. I said a few words and offered two short prayers. It occurred to me to read to them at the end the hymn, "There is a green hill far away." Then, as they seemed impressed by it, I thought I would sing it for them. But when I got through the first verse our concertina friend believed that he had caught the tune, and could help me, and so he struck in; the discord was too great for me to feel comfortable, but the people seemed to appreciate it, and they expressed their thanks for the meeting.

On the 4th of June they landed at Liverpool, and the Primate, as usual, went straight to Belsize Park.

Tuesday, 22nd: The day of the great Jubilee procession; had a good place for seeing everything on the steps of St. Paul's. A sight not to be described, nor forgotten.

On the 24th of June he received the honorary degree of D.D. at Oxford.

Then followed the Lambeth Conference. On July 1st the opening service at Westminster Abbey. On the 2nd, Ebbs Fleet and Richborough Castle and Canterbury were visited.

On Sunday, the 11th, he preached at St. Paul's Cathedral in the afternoon. On Tuesday, the 13th, he went with the other Bishops to Windsor. The Queen received them about 5 p.m. on the terrace. The Primates, including himself and also some other Provincial Bishops, were presented to the Queen. "She was very gracious; if she is as ill as some people say, she manages to put a bright face upon it."

On the 30th of July the Bishops of the West Indian Province, assembled at Lambeth Palace, resolved:

That the resolutions passed by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Anglican Communion assembled at Lambeth on the 26th of July, 1897, recognizing the adoption of the title of Archbishop in the Provinces of Canada, and declaring the adoption of the title to be desirable in the cases of the Provinces of South Africa, the West Indies, and New South Wales, be incorporated in the book of Canons and Resolutions of the Province of the West Indies; and, further, that the Primate be respectfully requested to announce his assumption of the title in accordance

with the resolution adopted at a meeting of the Synod held on the 1st of March, 1895, and to cause such assumption to be recorded in the said Book of Canons, and in the Register Book of the Province.

In August the Archbishop visited his father at Thornton-in-Craven. He was not well enough to go to Thornton Church in the morning, but drove over to the Church of St. Mary-le-Gill and preached at the afternoon service. He visited his mother's grave. On the Monday he, in company with his father and sister, drove over to Gisburn. "Fine morning, and the country looking exceedingly beautiful." He thence took train for Manchester.

At this time he sat for two portraits: one, by Miss Goodchild, is at Bishop's Lodge, a replica being at 24, Belsize Park. The other by Mr. E. A. Walton, is the property of his son, Mr. Ernest Nuttall.

On the 25th of September he sailed in the *Etruria* from Liverpool. He wrote: "What help and comfort I have had from the Kleins during my stay in England! How I should have got through the constant strain of my work and the mass of letter-writing and copying without it, I cannot imagine. May God reward them!"

New York was reached on the 2nd of October, and he went thence to Clifton Springs, where his wife and younger son and two daughters had been staying.

He attended the International Convention of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, at Buffalo, on the 13th, 14th, and 15th of October.

Of a reception held at the See House (American Church phraseology for "Palace" or "Bishop's Lodge") by the Bishop of Western New York, Dr. Walker, he records that—

> The formal reception began at 8.30 p.m. The guests were to be presented in succession to Bishop Walker, Mrs. Talbot, Dr. Talbot (the Bishop of Rochester) myself, Canon Gore, and Miss Walker, sister of Bishop Walker. We all stood in a row. One of the Archdeacons was supposed to present to the second half of us, and he did this sometimes, but frequently when the

guests came in contact with the Archdeacon they supposed him to be the last of the "lions," and obliged him to hold a little reception of his own, and so a block ensued. Canon Gore, who was very tired with his afternoon's work, managed to sit down during some of these "blocks" and gather strength for the next part of the campaign. After about an hour he was obliged to retire altogether. Then I was in trouble, for when the Archdeacon was otherwise engaged as aforesaid, there being nobody to do the presenting, the guests who could struggle so far presented themselves at our end of the line; we were all strangers, including Miss Walker (this being her first visit to her brother, who has only just been transferred from Dakota to Western New York): I was not supposed by the public to have yet arrived in the town, and a good many made a guess and began to thank me, as Canon Gore, for the very able and interesting addresses I had delivered in the afternoon, so that I was compelled to say in reply: "I am sorry, I am not Canon Gore." The possibility of thus mistaking me for Canon Gore is to be accounted for by the fact that the church in which he had given the addresses in the afternoon was large and dark, so that those at a distance from the pulpit could not possibly distinguish his features; some more naturally mistook the Bishop of Rochester for Canon Gore, and complimented him in the same way as the others did me.

Several claimed the right to special recognition by the Bishop of Rochester on what appeared to me rather flimsy grounds. One had been to Rochester last year, and another had a cousin living there. One person named Talbot tried to establish a claim to kinship; he worked away at the problem for some time without getting any nearer to proving his case, and it promised to become embarrassing to the Bishop, who wanted to be civil to the man and also to those who were waiting to shake hands with him; so I interposed, and closed the argument by saying that, though he had not yet proved his case, I was sure he could if only he had sufficient time—especially in view of the fact that if he could not clear the matter up through Noah there would be still Adam to fall back upon. (Happily, the Bishop was disentangled before I had finished my observations, so that he did not hear the whole of them.) There was one remark which the Bishop of Rochester dealt with in an admirable manner. Poor man, he had been rushing about or dragged about, from place to place, ever since he landed in the Western States, with sermons and speeches and social functions added to railway travelling and sight-seeing; and there we had been in a close room shaking hands at railway speed for an hour with a continuous crowd which still showed no signs of lessening; and at that point this good lady, in the blandest

manner, and with the kindliest voice, said to the Bishop: "I hope you have had a nice restful time in America," and he replied in one word: "Wonderful." That was a stroke of genius, especially taking into account the way in which it was said.

Well, in no other country could such a promiscuous crowd have presented itself on such an occasion, and in no other country would such a promiscuous crowd have been as kindly and genial, and as fully equal to the occasion. It was very interesting to watch them and exchange courtesies with them. At 10 minutes past 10 we finished shaking hands, and I departed at once to my hotel.

In November the Archbishop attended at the See House, Astor Place, New York, a meeting of clergy and laity whom Bishop Potter had invited together to advise him in regard to the Church Army. "A very interesting and frank discussion." The Bishop of Vermont and several notable New York clergy and laity were present; among the latter Captain Mahan. At that time he arranged, on the recommendation of Bishop Potter, for the Rev. Mr. Grosvenor, Rector of the Church of the Incarnation, to be his Commissary, in place of Dr. Tatlock, deceased.

He went after lunch to a meeting of the Clerical Club, and there was a large attendance of New York and Brooklyn clergy and others. Professor Cheyne was there. Dr. Huntingdon, of Grace Church, read a remarkable paper on Church Unity. He took part in a "full, candid discussion."

On Saturday, the 27th of November, he, with his wife and daughters, embarked on the *Alleghany*, and reached Jamaica on the 2nd of December.

With the December number of the *Jamaica Churchman* was published a Diocesan map, giving the churches, school-chapels, mission stations and schools under the Church of England, and this—with but slight additions with regard to mission stations and some reduction in the schools, owing to the gradual nationalization of the schools, which is progressing—practically represents the condition of affairs to-day. The map is here given as it originally appeared.

In 1898 he took an interest in the Spirit Licence Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill. He was a member and Vice-Chairman of the Education Commission presided over by Dr. (later Sir Charles) Lumb, on Elementary Education, and took a large share in drawing up its elaborate report. While the Commission was on circuit he increased his labours by doing Church work also, chiefly confirmations.

On a trip to Falmouth in a single buggy, one of his clergy driving, one horse, evidently not broken to draft, became unmanageable, and kicked the other horse and the buggy over the side of the road down a steep bank. The travellers managed to jump out, and then with the aid of some young pimento trees to save horses and buggy from destruction, and eventually with other help got them back on to the road. "It was a narrow and merciful escape for both of us."

One day he wrote:

Meeting of Education Commission, 11 to 4.30. Came home very tired, and worried with conflicts on points which could not have taken five minutes to settle by persons really understanding the facts bearing on them.

At this time he decided to rent premises in which to start a Nursing Home.

It is much needed. So I venture on the financial responsibility for a brief period of testing. It is a venture of faith; but not, I hope, an imprudent step. The expense will be limited. It will help the public and also help our nursing and training work.

This Home, in East Street, Kingston, is now known as the Archbishop Nuttall Nursing Home, and is soon to be removed to a commodious site next to Bishop's Lodge.

In July he wrote to the Bishop of Quebec:

. . . 2. I fear the problem you wish to solve in the Province of Canada, of attaching the title of Archbishop to a particular See, and yet maintaining the right of each Diocese to elect its own Bishop and the right of the Bishops (or General Synod of the

province) to elect the Primate Archbishop, is insoluble. I have looked at it in every possible way, and in the light of Australian and Irish experience (where the question has been much debated), and I have consulted many persons whom I thought likely to aid in forming a correct judgment in the matter, and it does not appear that any satisfactory way of dealing with the question has yet been discovered.

3. Your present plan in the Province of Canada is the one we have adopted in the West Indies. The title of Archbishop is not attached to any particular See. Each Diocese elects its own Bishop subject to the usual arrangements for confirmations; and the Bishops of the province elect one of their number to be their Primate, who thus becomes Archbishop of the Province. Perhaps we have special difficulties in regard to this matter in the West Indies, besides those common to other provinces. One difficulty is that the Dioceses differ greatly from each other in many ways, and any transfer of a Bishop from some of the Dioceses to others could not have a satisfactory result. We have no Diocese which can fairly be said to have a paramount claim to the honour of always having the Archbishop resident in it. We have no Provincial Capital. In civil matters the West Indies do not constitute a province. And the particular Diocese which might be chosen as a convenient centre for the Primate's administrative work, and from which the various Dioceses might be visited on occasion, is only convenient so long as inter-colonial steamship arrangements suit. They are liable to change every five years at the end of each contract, and are certain to change greatly soon.

4. It should be noticed that there are some advantages in the plan to which circumstances have forced us. It certainly brings into prominence what, as a matter of principle, needs to be ever kept in mind, that an Archbishop doesn't belong to a higher order than his brethren of the Episcopate; he is *primus inter pares:* Bishop of a Diocese and Archbishop of a Province. The plan also, without touching the rights of Dioceses, enables choice to be made in a direct and simple manner of the person to be Primate whom experience seems to have pointed out as the most fitted for the office.

5. I can see, however, that in Canada you have some facilities and inducements for trying the plan of a fixed Archiepiscopal See. You have a National Capital—that is, Ottawa. And this fact gives Ottawa an acknowledged precedence. There being thus a special fitness in seeking to make Ottawa the permanent Archiepiscopal See of the Province (ecclesiastical) the real question is, Will the Diocesan and the Provincial authorities agree

each to give up some of their rights, and can a working compromise be devised?

6. The Diocese of Ottawa might elect its own Bishop, subject, besides the ordinary requirements, to the proviso that his election would not be valid unless he were also elected Primate (or Archbishop) by the Provincial Authorities.

7. The Canon might provide that on each new vacancy the process should be reversed, the alternative plan to the above being that the Provincial Authorities would elect the Primate, such election not to be valid unless he were elected Bishop of the Diocese. Personally, I should prefer the initiative being in every case with the Diocesan Synod, chiefly because in case of failure of a completed election, it would be more satisfactory, on the whole, for the veto (as it would practically be) to have come from the Provincial Authorities. But there is something to be said on the other side; and particularly that a fair and judicious selection and election of Primate by the Provincial Authorities would go a long way towards securing his election as Bishop of the Diocese by the Diocesan Synod.

8. Whatever arrangements for election be made, provision is necessary to meet the case of a deadlock resulting from persistent divergence of opinion between the Diocesan and the Provincial Authorities. This can probably be best arranged by choosing representatives from the two bodies and an independent chairman to form one body to make the final choice. It might be said, Why not commit the choice to such a body from the first? Experience has not shown the wisdom of that method.

9. What I have written is the result of enquiry and thought upon the subject. It probably adds nothing to your own knowledge. The last point mentioned above is the real crux—a suitable body to decide in case of failure to elect after sufficient efforts.

On the 24th of November, the report of the Education Commission was published. He wrote:

I am thankful I have been able to take my full share of the work. I think, including sittings for evidence and meetings of the Commission for the preparation of the report, I have been present more frequently than any other member. It has been a great labour. There is so much that is debateable, and there are so many difficulties to meet. The report is a better one, on the whole, than I expected would be possible. In the main, I hope it will prove useful.

In the same year appeared "A Statement and Appeal by the Archbishop of the West Indies respecting Church

and Educational Work and Needs in the Diocese of Jamaica," which was issued in connection with a deputation which it was intended should leave Jamaica in the April of that year, to appeal to the English Church Societies, churchmen, and others interested in Jamaica, for funds towards various Diocesan needs. It gave a clear exposition on the state of the Church at that date, and its needs for the future.

On Easter Day, 1898, the Archbishop preached at the Parish Church, Kingston, at the 11 o'clock service, "the largest congregation I have seen at this church. I trust it was a useful service: the preaching was a great effort —the robes added immensely to the heat."

On the 18th of April he recorded that there was much trouble in arranging communications with the Government about the Spirit Licence Bill, which contained some objectionable provisions and was being rushed through the Legislative Council, and on the 26th he presided at a meeting in Edmundson Hall to arrange for a memorial to the Secretary of State against the Bill which had been recently passed.

One may here give one of many references to work in the country parts. On the 1st of May—

> Dedication of St. Silas Church, Troy. Not yet in all respects finished and ready for consecration, but substantially complete and capable of being used. Service began at 10.30, with an intermission during the day of half an hour. We had Morning Prayer, Litany, Communion Service, Dedication, Confirmation: 7 males, 16 females: total 23; three addresses by myself, and one sermon on the text I. Cor. xv. 42-44. Conclusion at 3.30. A useful day. The people much gratified, as well they may be, at the satisfactory completion of the effort which they have made, extending over many years, to build this really good and substantial church.

An unusually large batch of worries seem to have been responsible for the entry on the 22nd of August:

> Heavy day of business, some of it fairly worrying. I cannot think what has come over some Government officials. They deal with some public affairs in a manner which causes pain and anxiety

ST. PETER'S COLLEGE

BISHOP'S LODGE

to those who have the real progress of the country at heart, and are working for it. Time and strength and freshness of mind and heart are eaten up in a petty controversial correspondence.

On the 2nd of October he preached at the Parish Church, Kingston, on behalf of the Hurricane Relief Fund for Barbados, St. Vincent and St. Lucia. Heavy rain all the previous night and morning until 8 a.m. made the congregation thinner than it would have been, but it was larger than was expected in the circumstances. The Governor and Mayor and Council of Kingston came officially.

On the 28th of December he headed a deputation to the Governor from the Schools Commission and heads of departments concerned, with a view to arranging proposals for an Agricultural Experiment Station and Teaching Department to be laid before the Conference in Barbados the next week, and then before the Secretary of State. "I think we have secured unity of effort and plan: and hope imperial aid will be obtained through Dr. Morris at the Barbados Conference."

At the Synod of 1899 the Cathedral Chapter at Spanish Town was founded, with the Bishop as Dean. The Canons were installed on the 4th of May.

For some months past he had taken a very prominent part in the endeavour, which proved successful, made by educationists to persuade the Government not to close Shortwood College, which was thenceforth controlled by a Board of Management, and maintained in large measure by a Government grant.

On the 9th of May he sailed in the *Don*. As usual he spent the time available at Barbados in discussing affairs of the province. He breakfasted with the Governor, Sir J. Hay, and Lady Hay, Mr. and Mrs. Bindley of Codrington being also present. They discussed Codrington College affairs in a general way. Afterwards he had a business interview with the Governor, Mr. Graves (Attorney-General) and Dean Phillips, and discussed fully and arrived at a clear understanding upon points involved in regard to (i.) legal and financial arrange-

ments respecting the new Bishop of Barbados and his possible undertaking of the work of the Windward Islands Diocese; (ii.) legislation needed in Barbados to bring Civil Law into line with Provincial Ecclesiastical organization, especially in regard to the mode of appointing future Bishops, and matters of discipline; (iii.) Codrington College, and what rearrangements would satisfy local interests and secure local support.

At Bishop's Court, where he stayed, he had several hours' discussion with Dr. (now Sir Daniel) Morris and Mr. (now Sir Francis) Watts relative to the establishment of an Agricultural Department in Jamaica, in connection with the Imperial Agricultural Organization for the West Indies, under Dr. Morris. He pressed much the need for this action.

On the 15th he left on board the *Esk*, with the Bishop of Trinidad, for St. Vincent, where he was the guest of the Governor.

In the afternoon he—

Started with Archdeacon Turpin in a buggy to Buckament Church (pronounced Buchamo), six miles from Kingstown, over the hills. The road, an old one restored and improved (as part of the relief public works), was good, new metals and the hills made driving slow.

This church was destroyed by the hurricane, except part of the west wall, and the vestry at the north of the eastern section of the nave, and the walls of a porch opposite, at the south side. The church, including a small apse, was 72 feet by 32 and was of stone. The day school of about 50 children was held in a lean-to shed of posts and thatch, within the area of the church against the vestry.

There were three baptisms, and then a wedding. The ministrations were performed by the Archdeacon in the vestry, the people specially concerned assembled partly within the vestry and partly near the door under the shed; and other persons, and the school-children, were scattered about, seated on the broken walls of the church.

When the wedding was over, the party walked in couples down to the foot of the hill on which the church stands, the man in each case holding an umbrella over the woman and himself. This was the chief distinguishing badge of the wedding party,

though they were also well dressed. At the foot of the hill they were met by a fife and drum band, which preceded them in the subsequent march, which was at a slow pace. Between the band and the bridal party was the mother of the bride in plain dress. She whirled and danced in front of the bride. It was a curious scene; meantime the one church bell, hung in a tree, was being loudly rung. A peal of bells at a wedding is an effective mode of expressing the joyousness of the occasion. But this is the first time I have heard a solitary bell struck for the purpose, and the result did not appear to me very satisfactory.

Another day he went with Mr. Thomson (the Administrator) to look over the Hospital and the prison. Both institutions appeared to be well kept and managed. Afterwards he went with Mrs. Thomson to see an institution which she was founding (with some help from others and funds from England) for aged women in reduced circumstances. They were then housed in a rented building, but one was being purchased to be fitted up as the permanent home of the institution. "Nothing is more needed in West Indian towns than homes of this sort." Later they went to the Soup-Kitchen.

It is (he wrote) a pleasure to see the deep and constantly active interest which Mrs. Thomson takes in all sorts of philanthropic efforts for the good of the people here. It must be a blessing to her to do those things heartfully and cheerfully; the people are helped thereby; the interest and assistance of other persons of influence are secured; and the Administrator's general work is strengthened and supported by these special efforts of his wife. I wish all public officials and their wives were like-minded.

On Monday, the 22nd, he recorded:

Up at 4.30 a.m. to start as soon after daylight as possible for Georgetown, twenty-two miles from Kingstown on the Windward coast. Archdeacon Turpin travelled with me. We had a double buggy. The horses went very well on the whole. The road has just had considerable repairs, and in many places is heavy with metal. There are some stiff hills. We got to Grand Sable Estate about 11 a.m. This is close to Georgetown, and is the property of Mr. H. Hazell, who met us there and entertained us. On the way we inspected the injured churches and the sites of

those destroyed. They were St. Paul's, Calliaqua, chancel and transepts standing only; St. Sylvanus, Stubbs Village, a small mission chapel, entirely destroyed; St. Peter's, Mt. Grenen; Holy Trinity, Georgetown, St. Mark's, swept away entirely.

At 4.30 we drove to Georgetown Church. At the entrance to the town was an arch draped with flags and flowers and an inscription welcoming me, and a salute of several guns was fired. The church and parsonage are wrecked. Of the church the chancel is standing, and the walls of the nave, and the tower.

We had evening prayer. Then I preached from Eph. iv. 30, and afterwards gave advice and expressed sympathy in regard to their troubles and the work of extension required. The rector, Mr. Mayer, has erected a few rooms out of the débris of the parsonage, and he and his wife and his two children are moderately comfortable. But there are great difficulties of all sorts to be overcome here. My visit seemed to help and cheer the people and the clergyman. The town suffered severely in the hurricane, and all the windward coast buildings may be said to have been wrecked. In Georgetown the injury to the Roman Catholic church and the Methodist chapel was even greater than that to our church.

Tuesday, 23rd.—Started for Kingstown at 7 and got to Government House at 12 o'clock. They are busy preparing for a ball to-night. The Queen's birthday is being celebrated to-day instead of to-morrow in the islands of this Government as a matter of public convenience.

Wednesday, 24th.—Rose at 5 a.m. Started soon after 6 from the wharf in an open boat for *Baronallie*. Heavy showers. Rough sea. The Archdeacon was with me. We had four good rowers and a good boat. Got to our destination about 8.15. Held a Confirmation service in the church. Text, Ps. cxix. 10. Confirmed 13 males, 31 females; total 44. A large congregation, which seemed deeply interested and much impressed. The church is a ruin. The chancel and part of the nave has been covered in. The whole town was laid flat by the hurricane, except two houses. In one of these live two sisters of the late Archdeacon Frederick of Barbados. His son is doing temporary duty in this parish. After breakfast we started back, at a little before 11. On the way we called at the little village of Layou, where is another destroyed church. As we got into this bay we had to face another heavy shower. The last half of the journey the sea was rough, and particularly at the point coming into Kingstown. It seemed impossible to make headway against it. However, I was thankful that we did not ship much water and made some progress and eventually got safely to the Kingstown

wharf. The Archdeacon, who is a good sailor and accustomed to boating, was disappointed at the roughness of the passage. It made things unpleasant, added to the rain. I was glad to be able to perform this service. Got to Government House about 2 p.m., feeling very tired.

On the 26th he left for Barbados in the *Esk* at dark, reaching Barbados the next day at 7.30. At a meeting with the Governor and Attorney-General he found that they concurred in all that had been arranged for the new Bishop of Barbados becoming Bishop of the Windward Islands, and were willing also to promote such changes in the Barbados law as would bring it more fully into line with the provincial organization as regards appointment of Bishops, discipline of clergy and other matters. He also dealt with matters concerning Codrington College and the proposals for an Agricultural Department for Jamaica, connected with Dr. Morris and the Imperial Department. At 7.30 p.m. he sailed in the *Medway* for England. Southampton was reached on the 8th of June, and he went as usual straight to Belsize Park.

Then followed the usual routine of business. At Oxford he discussed Codrington College matters with Bishop Mitchinson and others; at Birmingham he attended and spoke at a meeting of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew; at Lambeth Palace matters concerning the West Indian Church were discussed; with the Mico Trustees, the transference of students from Antigua, where the Mico College was to be closed; a Bishop's Devotional Day at Lambeth at which about thirty-five Bishops were present; at the Colonial Office on Jamaica affairs. On Saturday the 1st of July, he wrote:

Went at 2 to the Lyceum to see and hear Irving and Miss Terry in *Robespierre*. It is thirty years since I was in a theatre. The orderliness and the elaborate scenic arrangements were very noticeable changes. The play itself was impressive as realizing and re-enacting the terrible events of the reign of terror. One could not help feeling that if one-quarter the effort were made to present religious truth effectively, the results would be very different.

He later addressed meetings at the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the Colonial and Continental Church Society: discussed Rio Pongo Mission work with Lord Stamford and others; the Mildmay business with Mrs. Hogg; the Bible Society's work in Jamaica with the Church Missionary Society; the work of Jamaicans in West Africa; with Mrs. Sumner (the founder of the Society in England), the Jamaica Branch of the Mothers' Union; held a meeting of the Jamaica Association at Church House; interviewed the actuary with reference to the Island Curates' and Rectors' funds; talked with Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton on Mico affairs; and with Miss Pearce, the sister of his Commissary, about editing *Jamaica*, the magazine of the Jamaica Church Aid Association in England.

Of a dinner at the Mansion House for the Archbishops and Bishops, he wrote:

> The Archbishop of York was to propose the health of the Lord Mayor and the Lady Mayoress. He felt too unwell. I was, in the middle of the dinner, asked to do this, and reluctantly concurred. I made the best I could of the time available for speaking and succeeded in awakening and retaining the interest of the assembly. After the formal matters I spoke about the Mansion House Fund last year for St. Vincent and Barbados: the loyalty of the West Indies, and especially Jamaica, and the strain of that loyalty through failure to deal with the sugar bounty question, which continues to press heavily on our special industry, a difficulty which the policy of other countries would quickly remove.
>
> The evident appreciation of what I said at the time and the many communications expressing appreciation afterwards received, show that if this matter were pushed here by competent advocates the British public would respond.

On the 8th he paid his usual visit to Oxford. A drawing-room meeting for Jamaica was held at the house of the Principal of Brasenose College, at which the Vicar of St. Mary's presided.

On Sunday, the 9th, he preached for Jamaica at St. Mary's both morning and evening.

> I find it better not to take up all the time speaking about Jamaica, but first to give some teaching which may tend to spiri-

tual edification and lead up to my special theme. Then I spoke, first, for a quarter of an hour, on 2 Cor. viii. 9. I did not feel very well, or very happy in the presentation of my subject. Not that the several dons who were there disturbed me, for I make no pretensions to scholarship, and find that what interests and helps ordinary people does the same for scholars. However, the congregation followed what I said with attention.

On Wednesday, the 19th of July, he went to see Lady Musgrave at her home. They had a pleasant three hours together, talking chiefly about Jamaica affairs. It was on this occasion that the portrait sketch, of which a reproduction is given, was drawn by Colonel Fawkes.

On the 20th of July he met by appointment Mr. Booker T. Washington with his wife from Tuskegee, Alabama.

Had an interesting talk with him. Found them much the sort of people I expected after what I have read of his history and work. I think it will be useful to get him to visit Jamaica later on to address meetings on the lines of his own industrial training of people.

On the 25th of July he went to Lambeth and discussed various matters with the Archbishop of Canterbury. No decision was arrived at as to the appointment of a Bishop of Barbados. He declined to make any suggestion, but gave afresh all the information he possessed. The question of transferring the island of Porto Rico from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Antigua to that of the American Church was considered. The Archbishop of Canterbury agreed that this should be done in the manner and for the reasons set forth in the correspondence between the Bishop of Antigua and the Archbishop of the West Indies.

On the 2nd of August he went to Thornton-in-Craven to see his father and sister, and he visited St. Mary-le-Gill, hard by, to see his mother's grave. Thence he went to Bishopsthorpe, where he spent the night and had a long talk with the Archbishop of York.

The latter part of August and early September were spent travelling in Scotland.

On the 4th of October, he left England.

This visit to England has been full of important business, much of which was not anticipated when I left Jamaica—especially business at the Colonial Office. I think where I could not do good, I have avoided doing harm, and in civil and ecclesiastical matters my visit has, I trust, been useful. I am thankful for manifold mercies, and though I have not had the refreshment of rest, I trust the voyage may give me some of that, and I may take up my work in Jamaica, and the West Indies generally, with a stronger desire and with greater power to be useful. I trust I may avoid fussing and worrying over trifles, and be able to devote myself to the greater things—especially in religious life and work.

At Barbados, as usual, he had business interviews with the Governor, the Attorney-General, representatives of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, and several of the clergy. Jamaica was reached on the 20th.

On the 9th of November he wrote a report for the Agricultural Society on Direct Fruit Steamers to England and the fruit trade.

On the following day, at a meeting of the Agricultural Committee, his draft report was accepted with amendments to be published and laid before the general meeting on the 17th instant. "I am sorry to give so much time to matters of this sort; but the help I can give is evidently needed, and the welfare of multitudes depends upon these developments of agriculture."

In writing to a friend who had given him as a Christmas present a copy of Browning, the Archbishop said:

You know how deficient my education has been in the matter of Browning. There was a time when I read, and even studied, poetry. In the last five-and-twenty years I have had time to read some, but have studied none. If Browning had claimed my attention in those earlier years I should probably have studied him, and thus understood and appreciated him. Now I fear what will happen; but I will do my best according to my opportunities; and, at any rate, I hope to make myself acquainted with the easier pieces, and those you have marked. . . .

In 1900 the Archbishop played an important part in the inauguration of the Direct Line from England, and in the organization of the work of the newly formed Board of Agriculture; but in May and June he had

a bad attack of fever, and on the 3rd of July the need for rest and change saw him again on board ship bound for England.

On the 7th of July, at Barbados, he was not strong enough to go ashore. He transacted business on board with Dean Phillips, Dr. Morris, and Bishop Swaby. Southampton was reached on the 19th.

On this occasion a fellow-passenger, noticing him wandering unhappily about the dock at Southampton, said to him: "Archbishop, what is the matter? You look unhappy." He replied: "I have found some of my luggage under 'N,' for Nuttall, and some under 'W,' for West Indies, but there are two packages I cannot find." On which his fellow-passenger pointed out that one was under "A," for Archbishop, and another under "G," for Grace.

On the 20th the Archbishop received a letter from the Bishop of Nassau (Dr. Churton), who was in England, saying that, owing to ill-health, he must resign. He noted:

> It will be a great loss to his Diocese. I am sorry. His health has not permitted him to be much with us at Provincial Synod meetings, but he has always supported everything tending to efficient organization and management of the affairs of the Province, and thus has greatly helped. Moreover, I look on him as *the* saintly man on our bench of Bishops.

He went one afternoon to the Lyceum to see Irving in *The Merchant of Venice*. "How they do rebuke preachers by the care they take in their work!"

In August a meeting was held at the offices of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the Committee to select a Bishop for Guiana. All the Committee were present—namely, the Archbishop, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Dr. Maclear, of Canterbury, and Lord Stamford.

This resulted in the appointment of Dr. Parry, later Archbishop of the West Indies.

In November he wrote, in answer to a Canadian layman who had asked for advice on an address which he was to give at a Convention to be held in Ontario:

It is not easy to give sufficient and yet brief answers to the questions you put on the subject which you are appointed to speak upon at the Convention.

Parts of the Church are aggressive—that is to say, there are some individuals everywhere, some congregations here and there, some portions and sections of the Church, which are full of zeal and energy, and aim at using every opportunity for advancing the Kingdom of Christ. And so both in home efforts and in foreign missions much is being done to help and save men.

But the ideal of the Church as a whole, on this subject, is altogether too low, and its aggregate efforts are altogether inadequate. And, until a change takes place in these respects, no extension of the Christian influence on a large scale will be achieved. In all its branches the Church of Christ undoubtedly needs great missionary leaders full of spiritual life and power, and great organizers of agencies and efforts for the physical and social betterment of the people; but, above all, it is necessary to realize that no real steady, permanent, and rapid advance of the Kingdom of Christ upon earth can take place until the primary essential fact is understood and acted upon, that every Christian is and must be always and everywhere a missionary. Every day is a wasted day for a Christian in which something is not said or done, or some influence exercised, which makes others feel how really we love Christ, how deeply we value the Christian Society, how entirely the spirit of Christ and the influences acting upon us through the Christian religion permeate our conduct and mould our character, and glorify our lives, no matter what our circumstances and surroundings. When we can reach this standard, which is the ordinary normal standard for every Christian, then our Christianity will be aggressive in the right sense. Not irritatingly and obtrusively aggressive, as when the policeman opens the bull's-eye of his dark lantern, and flashes the light into your face, but gently, clearly, steadily aggressive, as the lamp which sheds its light pleasantly and helpfully on all the people and objects in the room, and in the aggregate the aggressiveness of the Church will then be as the beneficent light of the sun which sends its bright and life-giving beams over all the earth. If every Christian (whether officially called to special work or not) realized and even approximately lived up to the duty of becoming and being always a missionary in the way I have specified, there would be no mistake about the aggressiveness of the Church and, during the coming century, the world would be won for Christ.

CHAPTER VI

1901–1906

THE NEW CENTURY

IN February, 1901, the Archbishop wrote on the subject of sponsors:

I have received your undated letter in reference to your infant son. It would be much better to talk the matter over with you than to write. The rule of the Church is that there should be three sponsors who are communicants. It is quite easy to see that many communicants are not good Christians, but it is also plain that one who is not a communicant is continually neglecting a plain command of our Lord. The rule of the Church is in itself a reasonable one. Those who solemnly promise to help to train a child in Christian knowledge and duty should themselves be endeavouring to practise what they teach. When earnest-minded Christian parents are alive, and able to watch over their children, there is not much that godparents can do; but circumstances often arise in which a real responsibility falls upon godparents. Of course, the whole thing is often reduced to a mere matter of form, but that cannot be right. A clergyman's duty is to try to make it a reality. In England I am aware the rule is constantly broken, but the result is great detriment to the Church, and scandal to religion. This is as much as I can find time to say regarding the rule itself, but I cannot doubt that your husband and yourself, on reflection, must realize the reasonableness thereof.

2. Now, as to the application of the rule. In exceptional cases there are often real difficulties in finding godparents at once duly qualified and suitable. My advice to the clergy of Jamaica is to accept two communicant sponsors, parents or others (for which there is some authority), then not reject other sponsors of good repute and Christian character, who may for special reasons be acceptable to the parent.

3. You refer to the possibility of seeking to have your child baptized by "some minister of another denomination who is

more liberal in his views." I think you will see that it is not a question of liberality of view, but of endeavouring to minister one sacrament of Christ in such a way that the Divine intention may be carried out, and the rule of the Church (intended to secure its carrying out) may be observed. There is much laxity in Jamaica about such matters, and I do not deny also that there are clergy who find it hard to meet the exceptional circumstances of our life in this country and yet pay sufficient regard to canonical authority. I hope your clergyman will meet your needs on the lines indicated in this letter, and that you will neither seek to press him to go further, nor evade the proper authority of the Church by seeking baptism for your child elsewhere.

4. Referring to the conclusion of your letter. I remember you well and have a great regard for your husband. I know (by conversation and correspondence with him) that he has thought a good deal on the subject of baptism in other aspects of it. I cannot doubt that if he were more in contact with the wider experiences which fall to men like myself, he would earnestly support the views I have herein expressed and other similar ones. Tell him that I earnestly ask him to fulfil his Lord's commandment by presenting himself at the Lord's Table, with you, without delay, and then you can both present yourselves as sponsors for your child, with any other suitable persons as indicated above. And so a double blessing will come to you.

5. If there is any further difficulty please let me know.

At this time he wrote to a clergyman who had failed to attend Synod, presumably on the excuse of expense:

I have read your recent letters with grief. It would be almost impossible to reply to them fully in writing at any time, and during the session of Synod it is out of the question for me to attempt to enter adequately into the matters referred to. I had hoped that your visit to England had sufficiently restored your health to enable you to look at matters from a reasonable (and not too hopeless) point of view. I think your Bishop and your brethren have a right to expect from you a little more confidence, and also some manifestation of appreciation of their difficulties at a time like the present, when it is a pressing problem (and especially in the first month or two of the year) how honestly to find the money with which to pay as much as two-thirds of the monthly stipends even in the case of clergy whose total stipends are not half your own. Many of these men are bravely struggling with their difficulties, and are here at Synod helping to share the burden of anxiety, and of efforts to meet the untoward circumstances and bring about a better state of things, both spiritually

and financially. You know you are always welcome at the Lodge, and the railway expenses you would have incurred in coming to Kingston would have been partially covered by some saving in home expenses for the week. It would have helped me much in several matters if you had come to Synod, and I am sure it would have done you good to be fighting the battle with your brethren.

2. Pending the supply of available and authorized resources, to the Diocesan Financial Board, for paying stipends in full, I enclose herewith my own cheque for seven pounds, ten shillings and eleven pence for the balance of your stipend for January, and I add thereto twelve shillings to pay cost of railway tickets for a journey to Kingston, on Monday, the 11th February. I direct you to come on that day, as I must see you within a few days about your own and other Church and school matters.

In April, the Provincial Synod was held in Jamaica. He recorded:

A useful, harmonious Synod. Very trying work for me—only allowing four or five hours' sleep—rest of time occupied in drafting minutes and resolutions and making business and house arrangements.

Later he refers to the Provincial Pastoral:

A difficult business. So many subjects to be introduced (by desire of the Bishops) and business records to be included also. I hope it may be of some real use in strengthening the sense of unity and helping on improvements of various kinds in the West Indian Church.

On the 13th of June he received a cablegram from the Archbishop of Canterbury, asking him to go to Lambeth for the formation of a Consultative Committee, and on the 18th he left on the *Trent*. He went on shore at Barbados after breakfast and called on Dr. Morris, the Bishop, the Governor (Sir Frederick Hodgson) and Dean Phillips, and had an hour's business with each of the two former.

During the voyage he read "Where Black rules White," Pritchard's work on Hayti.

An instructive book in many ways to a student of West Indian life and interested in the future of the people. They will depend for any early and steady progress on Anglo-Saxon guidance and rule and Christianity.

Southampton was reached on the 3rd of July.

On the 8th he went to Lambeth Palace in the afternoon, where he had talks with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, he and the latter being the only visitors.

On the following day was held, at Lambeth, the first formal meeting of the Consultative Committee for the Anglican Communion abroad. There were present the Archbishop of Canterbury, presiding, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of London, Manchester, Rochester, and Newcastle; Bishop Bury, Bishop Johnson, and the Archbishop of the West Indies. It sat all that day and the next.

At this time branches of the Jamaica Church Association were started at Ealing and Bristol.

On the 13th he went to Farnham Castle, and on the following day (Sunday) he had various talks with the Bishop of Winchester on Church matters, including the Diocese of Nassau. Mrs. Benson, Miss Benson, and Miss Tait were at the castle. "Was glad to meet them again as well as Mrs. Davidson. The Bishop of Bombay and Mrs. Macarthur came there this afternoon."

On the 20th there was a meeting for Jamaica in the common-room of Oriel College, Oxford, and on the 21st the Archbishop preached at St. Mary's.

On the 26th he had an interview at the Colonial Office with Mr. (now Sir Charles) Lucas, respecting the Act for Incorporating the Diocesan Synod of Antigua, which had been dissolved on legal grounds by the Home Authorities, and found the hearings of the case were as he had anticipated—partly involving the rights of the Dominica Legislature. He went afterwards to see Bishop Courtenay, former Bishop of Kingston, in Bayswater: "Found him feebler in body but mentally bright."

On the 27th he went to Lambeth. He asked the opinion of the Archbishop of Canterbury as to the action which the Bishops of the West Indian Province should take in certain eventualities in regard to appointing a Bishop to the Diocese of Nassau. "He was

decidedly of the opinion that the case and our Canons required us to exercise our judgment and not confirm, if we believed a person elected by the Diocesan Synod to be Bishop was not able or willing to require conformity on the part of the clergy to the Prayer Book in all matters deemed important to be insisted on; such as some of those in question in Nassau. This was the opinion given me by the Archbishop of York when, on the 10th of July, I discussed the matter with him."

In connection with a proposed deputation from the Keswick Committee to Jamaica, the Archbishop explained how matters stood in relation to this movement in Jamaica and added that, if the English visitors could stand the heat, there would be no insuperable difficulty about having the proposed meetings in Jamaica in the middle of the year if it seemed desirable.

On the 17th of August he left on the *Port Royal* and reached Kingston on the 30th. One result of his visit to England was that he wrote to the Government, suggesting the appointment of an Agent for Jamaica in England.

On Sunday, the 20th of October, a severe thunderstorm passed over St. Andrew and Kingston in the afternoon and evening.

During the thunderstorm Belmont House, Stony Hill, was struck by lightning. There was no one in the house but Archbishop Nuttall, who was staying there for the night. Considerable damage was done in three of the rooms.

The dining-room, where the Archbishop was sitting at the time, was only a little injured. The principal damage was done in a corner of the adjoining room, about 14 feet from where the Archbishop was. If Mrs. Nuttall had been at home, she would, according to her usual habit, have been at the time at or near a desk, in the corner of the room where the lightning struck in full force. Happily she was away at Mandeville.

On the 27th of December, 1901, Professor Collins arrived on a mission to Jamaica, and stayed till the 28th of January. The following, having reference to his

visit, is extracted from his Life, written by Dr. Arthur James Mason:

By invitation of Archbishop Nuttall, whom he (Collins) had seen just before he went to Betteshanger, he went out to conduct a series of Missions and Retreats in Jamaica during the Christmas vacation. He arrived at Kingston on the 27th of December, and left again on the 28th of January. The days between were crowded with such a mass of engagements as makes the mind dizzy to think of them. A full week's Mission at Spanish Town, beginning on Saturday, the 28th of December, another at Port Antonio, beginning the day after the ending of the first (Sunday, the 5th of January), a Diocesan Retreat at Spanish Town beginning on Thursday, the 23rd of January, were the principal items in the campaign; but besides these there were many other sermons and addresses in different parts of the great island and to various classes of people. The last important effort was a sermon in the Cathedral, Spanish Town, on Saturday, the 25th of January, on the combined occasion of the opening of the Diocesan Synod and of the unveiling of a memorial to Queen Victoria by Sir Alfred (*sic* Augustus) Hemming, the Governor.

Bishop Collins published a few years later some of the impressions which this work had left upon him. He said: "The work of a Mission in Jamaica is very like one in England, excepting for a few particulars. As the people come to church whenever the bell rings the services can be changed more easily. Whereas, in England, people are apt to shrink overmuch from Communion, in Jamaica the tendency is all the other way, and the people can with difficulty be kept back when they ought not to communicate. All day long come applicants for interviews, not only of the kind that one is accustomed to in England, but others who recall to one's mind the enquirers whom missionaries have to do with in India. Some, it may be, will bring questions on the Bible, others will want information for themselves, or the means of refuting Seventh Day Adventist teaching, or that of the Bedwardites, or one of the other obscure sects that flourish in Jamaica. . . . Others, again, will sit and weep, or sit and smile, and you have to guess as best as you can what it is that they want; or they will be voluble about the faults of others and their own miseries, or ecstatic and unintelligible, and you can do nothing with them until you can make them kneel down and pray. . . ."

It was not long before he was quite in love with the warm-hearted race of grown-up children.

Not all his time in Jamaica was occupied in hard work; and with his usual power of getting all that he could out of his surroundings, Professor Collins contrived to see and to enjoy most of the attractions of the island.

He attended the Synod which was sitting at Kingston. Before he entered the room, the Archbishop, in his presidential address, had already spoken warmly of the valuable teaching and spiritual counsel which Professor Collins had given, and added: "We thank him for the visit. It has been a great help to us and (as we hope) not unpleasant to him. I think you are now ready to support, with earnestness and without misgiving, the design I have long expressed and the plans I have laid for securing the occasional visits of such spiritual teachers and leaders from the Mother Church. Besides other benefits they will help to save us from the mental and moral torpor and narrowing influences which our isolation and routine of labour tend to foster." The whole Synod rose when the Professor entered. An address was presented to him, in which the clergy expressed their gratitude, and promised that they would " treasure in their hearts the wise counsels so lovingly and impressively given." The Archbishop then added a few more words, saying that he wished to impress upon the clergy " the unquestionable value and rightness of the Professor's methods—the not relying on isolated texts, the not formulating technical rules of conduct, the not repeating statements merely because they were orthodox, but striving to get at and state clearly the broad, deep, underlying eternal principles of the Divine word." Then they took their leave.

Bishop Collins never ceased to think with affection of the people of Jamaica.

For the Archbishop he formed the deepest admiration; he always spoke of him as " a king of men," as indeed his subsequent conduct at the time of the great earthquake in Jamaica showed him to be.

In December, 1901, the Archbishop wrote to one of his clergy:

I have received your letter of the 21st of December with reference to a difficulty in a probable case of burial. I have little to guide me in advising you beyond the statement that the elderly gentleman who appears to be approaching his end is a Unitarian. This is a term which in modern times covers very wide divergencies of opinions, from a phase of semi-Arianism closely approximating to the Catholic Faith down to practical unbelief of most things that are distinctly Christian.

2. Assuming (as the judgment of charity seems to require in

such circumstances) that he is one of those who, while not accepting the orthodox creed, does look to Jesus Christ as his Saviour, in the sense in which he is able to understand the Saviour's character and believe in Him, it would not be a wise exercise of discretion to refuse him burial in the usual way. But if his views are even less satisfactory, it is to be borne in mind that the service is for the living and not for the dead, and that we have an authorized alternative service in this Diocese to meet cases in which offence would be given by using the exact form of words in our Prayer Book. Moreover, if you were in England I doubt if you would find it possible effectively to raise the question which is now troubling you. And here, where there is liberty of raising it, it is questionable how far it is possible to judge sufficiently of the mental attitude of such a man to justify a refusal of burial of the usual Christian character. As regards the question of actual *burial in the Church Ground*, apart from the service used, you know that under the present law in England the right of such a burial could legally be claimed.

3. With such knowledge as I possess in regard to this case, I am of opinion that there is less danger of harm resulting from your burying him in the Church graveyard, either with the full Prayer Book service or the authorized alternative service, than there would be in your refusing to bury him.

In his usual address to Synod, in 1902, the Archbishop said of the Consultative Body of the Church, formed in connection with the Lambeth Conference:

This is a beginning of the practical recognition of the urgency, greatness, and imperial character, of some of the needs of the Church, in regard to questions of policy, and the requirement of unity of action, under common guidance, in many important matters throughout the world. This gathering is likely to be followed by many such meetings, which may be held every year, or once in two or three years, as the pressure of questions needing settlement may demand. I think the action of this Consultative and Advisory Body will have a valuable influence in promoting unity and efficiency within the Anglican Communion everywhere in regard to questions affecting policy, organization, and administration.

On the 19th of February he went on board the Direct Line boat to say good-bye to one of his clergy who was leaving the Diocese. He wrote:

His case has given me untold anxiety and trouble during the last few months. To hit the right mean between remissness and severity has been very difficult. I hope I have succeeded. I am certainly getting much blame from one section of the community, which thinks I have been too remiss, and from the opposite section, which thinks I have been too severe.

I trust he will be able to pay off his debts and otherwise to act so as to justify the amount of confidence I hope I have in him.

The debts were subsequently paid by the clergyman.

In March he took part in the various functions in connection with the visit of Sir Alfred Jones, who had brought the Direct Line to Jamaica.

This year the Archbishop did not pay his usual visit to England.

In May, 1902, he wrote to Professor (later Bishop) Collins:

I thank you very much for sending me a copy of "Typical English Churchmen," edited by yourself, which includes two of your own lectures. I shall hope to get the book read to me late in the evenings (as my custom is) when my eyes are too tired for me to read myself. I have, in fact, just been going through other lectures of the Church Historical Society in this way. Each being, more or less, complete in itself, the lectures are very suitable for this kind of reading, as well as being very interesting to the readers and myself. . . .

At this time he wrote to the late Mrs. Denniston, founder of the Sailors' Rest, Kingston:

Your letter of the 12th of March came duly to hand, but much travelling for the performance of duties away from Kingston has left me insufficient time for Kingston work and correspondence, and many things have had to wait. I have, however, at odd times, made enquiries concerning the Sailors' Rest and Reading-Room in Kingston, and the possibility of doing something to meet the requirements referred to in your letter and that of Com. Dawson.

2. I spoke with Mr. Hopkins on the subject when I was at Port Antonio three weeks ago, and have also spoken with several of our clergy and others. Yesterday I visited the Institution and had a talk with Mr. McBlayne, the manager. I was pleased with the evidence, which was apparent, of the real usefulness of the Home. I counted the signatures of the men in the book kept as a record of their visits, and found that over a hundred different

sailors and men belonging to ships have been at the Institution once or twice or many times, since the 1st of May.

3. I have arranged with one of our Church laymen who appears fitted by earnest godliness and other necessary qualifications, to do the work, to visit the Institution regularly for religious meetings and services supplementary to those conducted by Mr. McBlayne, and Canon Kilburn will overlook such work. He and I hope that other clergy will occasionally visit the Institution. I have reason to believe that Mr. McBlayne has a good moral and religious as well as general influence over the men. Those persons I have specially consulted (including Mr. Hopkins) think that the above arrangements will work well, and that the religious interests of the men will be well looked after. In this opinion I concur.

4. If you think these statements and this testimony are likely to influence "The Missions to Seamen" to help the Institution you are at liberty to forward this letter to them. I certainly think the Institution deserves the help of English friends. I have not seen any work for sailors and shipmen in Kingston as promising as this, and you know that for nearly forty years I have taken a deep interest in everything affecting the welfare of sailors coming to Jamaica.

On the 30th of June he records:

Started early. Meeting at Annotto Bay Church, 8.15 a.m. of the new Board of the Titchfield Trust. Mr. [now Sir Sydney] Olivier in the chair, and all the members present. A good, useful meeting. Much business done. Starting the new work on methods and by a Board competent to deal with the important business difficulties involved in dealing with the lands at Port Antonio in the interests of the town and of education. It has cost me, as Chairman of the Schools Commission, much labour during many years to bring matters to the present state, and if the new Board goes on with the spirit and the care it has begun I shall feel that a very modified responsibility rests on me in future, and that matters will be well looked after.

At this time he was instrumental in the amalgamation of the Kingston Grammar School with Wolmer's Boys School, the head-master of the former going as second master of the latter. He also took a prominent share in the reception of Mr. Meyer and Mr. McCartney, the Evangelistic Keswick delegates, who arrived on the 22nd of November.

In 1903 he played an important part in drawing up regulations for the election of a Rhodes scholar annually for Jamaica, being appointed by the Governor chairman of a committee for the purpose. In virtue of his office as chairman of the Jamaica Schools Commission, he a little later became a member of the Selection Committee.

On the 7th of February he recorded that he entertained at lunch the Rev. Walter Wynn of Thornton-in-Craven, Yorkshire, who was a Baptist Minister, and knew his father and sister.

As evidence that he still continued his hard work in spite of warnings by medical men we may quote one day's work. On Sunday, the 22nd of March, he writes:

> Not well. Confirmation at St. Paul's 9 a.m. Text, Dan. x. 18-19. Confirmed 10 males, 17 females; total, 27. To the Pengellys at Oxford. Took some milk and toast, then to Comfort Hall Mission Church. Dedication. Confirmation. Text, Luke x. 28. Confirmed 13 males, 20 females; total, 33. Then to Oxford again, and had more milk and toast. Service Balaclava night. Confirmed 9 males, 22 females; total, 31. Text, Gen. xix. 26. In addition to sermons to-day, I gave four addresses. Average length of the seven addresses and sermons about twenty-five minutes each. It was a great strain going through so much in one day. Circumstances seemed to make it necessary, and especially at the two latter places people seemed to be in need and eager for special teaching and help. To Oxford for night.

At this time he became unfit for continual work. On the 11th of June he left Jamaica in the Direct Line steamer *Port Morant*, landing at Avonmouth on Wednesday, the 24th of June, and as usual went straight to Belsize Park.

He then had to write to all those with whom he usually did business explaining his inability to do work. There is a gap in the journal till the 27th of July, when the usual routine of interviews and correspondence was resumed.

On Monday, the 3rd of August, Bank Holiday, he walked to Hampstead Heath to see the holiday-makers —"a striking sight." Then he took a trip to Melrose

on the 5th. On the 13th he received a cablegram about the cyclone in Jamaica. This entailed much correspondence and interviews and the preparation of an appeal through the press for assistance.

In a long letter which he sent to *The Times* on the 15th of August in connection with the hurricane which had recently occurred he said:

> But one chief lesson to be learnt by this fresh disaster is the necessity for re-establishing the sugar industry alongside of the fruit cultivation. Whatever else is not done at this juncture, I hope that the Colonial Office and the Jamaica Government together will be able to arrange some plan by which two or three moderate-sized central factories can be established in suitable localities, as a test of what is possible to be accomplished under the new conditions of the sugar industry. It should not be beyond the wit of man to discover some means by which the Government may foster the establishment of such experimental centres for the new sugar industry, without contravening the letter or the spirit of the decisions arrived at by the Sugar Bounty Convention. I base my confidence in the future of sugar as an industry for Jamaica on the facts that the soil, in many places, is eminently suited for its cultivation without the aid of expensive manures, that sugar is now grown in Jamaica more cheaply, I believe, than in any other country, that the cost of carriage to the centres of consumption (American and European) is moderate, and that, hereafter, when the abolition of bounties has taken full effect, there will be an opportunity of entering the markets of the world on equal terms with other countries. As soon as it is possible to demonstrate by the work of two or three experimental central factories that the cultivation and manufacture of sugar can be carried on profitably, I have no doubt that British capital will do the rest without Government assistance. . . .

On the 10th of October he left Liverpool for New York. He wrote a memorandum of his visit for the benefit of his English friends, which runs as follows:

> I arrived in New York in the Cunard steamer *Umbria* on the 18th of October, and left the following day for Washington, D.C., reaching the Bishop's house there soon after 9 p.m.
>
> The All-American Conference of Bishops commenced its session with an opening service in the pro-Cathedral at 11 a.m. on Tuesday, the 20th of October. Preacher the Bishop of Albany (Doane), Celebrant Bishop of Missouri. I read the Gospel. It

was altogether a beautiful service, and in the best sense a popular one.

The business of the Conference began in a hall under the church immediately after the service. There were about sixty Bishops present, including several from Canada and myself from the West Indies. I had to respond to a welcome tendered to the British Bishops. Chiefly because it was uncertain whether I could come to the Conference, I had declined to be placed on the programme for any set paper or to preach the concluding sermon, but I also believed I should have enough to do in the discussions of the Conference, and the shaping of business, and in private talks with those who wished to confer with me on what was coming before the Conference and other matters. And so it proved. I was kept fully engaged in this way (except when social functions had to be attended) until the close of the business of the Conference on Saturday, the 24th, at midday.

I consider that much of what was said at the Conference, in the papers read and which will be published, will be of real value as helping to form the public opinion of the Church on right lines, and that these papers and the formal and informal discussions in conference have been of great assistance in moulding and directing the opinions of those present and securing practical unity of action on many matters.

There was an opening service for the Missionary Council of the American Church on Tuesday forenoon, the 27th of October. This service was in character much like that of the opening of the Episcopal Conference. This Council is a sort of representative Church Conference on Missions, and consists of Bishops, clergy, and representatives of the laity. It met for business in the nave of the church. At the opening session I was called upon to give an address. I attended other sessions as a listener, giving advice privately to those who asked me for it in questions raised with which I was conversant. It was undoubtedly a useful gathering, stimulating and guiding.

The most remarkable public gatherings which I attended in Washington were a missionary service, and an open air service on the Cathedral grounds.

The missionary service was held in the afternoon on Saturday, the 24th of October, in the Convention Hall. I was officially informed that its seating capacity is 7,000, and there must have been more than that number of persons present, as many had to stand. A shortened form of Evening Prayer was read. A good band led the chants and hymns—all being included in a printed programme placed in the hands of each person. There were five speakers; the presiding Bishop of the American Church spoke

first and I last. All or nearly all the Bishops in Washington were present; many clergy of our Church, and a large body of ministers of other churches and denominations were also present on the huge platform. It was a very enthusiastic meeting.

The service on the grounds of the new Cathedral, about three miles from the centre of Washington, took place on Sunday afternoon, the 25th of October. The site of the Cathedral and grounds is, I think, twenty-four acres. It is at a considerable elevation above Washington. The city is gradually and not slowly developing in that direction. The day was bright and sunny—cold at first, and warmer during the afternoon. There was a vast congregation, various estimates have been given of the number present, but I should think it was nearer 12,000 than any other round figure. There were over forty Bishops, a large number of clergy, and a still larger number of choristers, all wearing their appropriate robes, and the chief feature was the presence of the President of the United States to give an address. He wore the ordinary black frock-coat of a gentleman, with a silk hat—the only dress allowed the President. General Wilson, who sat next him, was in uniform, and there were many policemen about the grounds in uniform, but all the other officials there were in plain dress. There were many of the principal officials present—most of them with their wives, a considerable number of them being near Mrs. Roosevelt. There were also many secret service men not far from the President in various directions. General Wilson sat next to the President on his left and the Bishop of Washington (who conducted the proceedings) on his right. I sat next to General Wilson. The Bishop of Albany and Bishop Doane who were just behind each offered General Wilson the use of the copy of a programme with the hymns when we were singing. He declined courteously. I had not offered to share my copy, for I knew what he was doing. He watched every part of that audience (under his heavy eyebrows) with an alertness and a vigilance which was very striking, and, of course, he kept his men in plain clothes continually under his eye. What he most feared, I afterwards learnt, was what I expected at the time—a shot at the President from a long range. I had noticed as we came down in the procession through the natural amphitheatre in which the service was held and looked at the platform in the distance from various points in our circular route, what chances there were of a long range shot at the platform over the heads of the vast congregation. But though the President is fearless, strict guard is kept, and this fine old soldier said that if he could not prevent the shot being fired he hoped to be able to place himself so that

the bullet could only reach the President through his body. The old man was in many of the battles of the war, and is every inch a soldier. I realized at the time that if any assassination was attempted by a shot at long range I stood a good chance of receiving it myself if the assassin was not a good marksman. The fear of attempted assassination of the President was the one thing that made the responsibility of the service such a strain to the Bishop of Washington, though in a large gathering of the kind the ordinary anxieties of organization and management were great enough. However, all passed off happily and well.

The Bishops of Washington, Kentucky, and Albany, each took a share of the service, which was a shortened form of Evening Prayer, and I read the lesson. The Bishop of Washington spoke. Then the President gave the address, which was the great feature of the second half of the proceedings. As he drew to a close it occurred to me that some recognition of his opening reference to British Bishops might be proper and be expected. I asked Bishop Dudley, who sat near me, and he and Bishop Doane and the Bishop of Washington agreed and passed me a note that it would be certainly proper and desirable. So when the President finished his very earnest and effective and suitable address I had to make a brief impromptu speech. Happily, I had convictions and opinions to fall back upon and had only to express something of what I felt. It is reported with the President's speech in the *New York Churchman*, as it had been in most of the secular papers with variations. The *Churchman* report is nearly correct. The concluding sentence was terser, and did not include the word "militant."

The enthusiasm was very great; the President was evidently much affected, as I am told Mrs. Roosevelt was. He thanked me twice heartily in the hearing of the public, besides what he said subsequently in more private conversation. There was little in the words beyond their sincerity, and the greatness of the occasion, and the fact that they were heard by the vast audience.

It has surprised me greatly to be told, as I have been a hundred times, that I was heard as no other readers and speakers were to the outskirts of the great congregations on Saturday and Sunday. I think the reason must be that I have learnt to avoid the habit of dropping the voice too much at the end of a sentence, which is a fault in many public speakers, not only causing failure on the part of the audience to hear the last words, but so breaking the thread of connection between speaker and hearer, that the beginning of the next sentence is also lost.

On the whole, this was the most notable open air gathering I have ever been at, not least owing to the fact that the chief ruler

of this wonderful country spoke thereat as a Christian man to Christian men.*

The social gatherings have been very numerous. Receptions and dinners *ad lib.* At two dinners when the eating was over, smoking began, the ladies concurring and remaining, and the gathering was in each case turned into a missionary meeting. At one there were about twenty guests—chiefly Bishops entertained by the Bishop of New York and Mrs. Potter at their rooms at the hotel. I spoke for half an hour on Jamaica and the negro question here, and was followed by the Bishop of Rematin and the Bishop of Honolulu speaking of their work. In the other case I was the only speaker, and the principal guests were lay people—an Admiral, an ex-Departmental Secretary, etc.

At three of the receptions I attended I had to share with the Bishop of Washington, Mrs. Satterlee, and the Presiding Bishop, in receiving the guests. On one occasion I shook hands with a hundred people, on another with four hundred, and on another with three thousand. How people in either Washington or London find pleasure in such great crushes I do not know, but they evidently do. I heard one of the aforesaid three thousand, who had been struggling for a long time to get up to the point at which those who received were standing, say to a friend after she got past us: "Is it not just lovely?" Another lady remarked: "I thought I was not going to get through with my clothes on, but it is very fine."

There was a great reception at the White House, very well arranged, but, of course, long waiting and slow passing into the presence chamber for most. Fortunately, I was presented next after the Bishop of the Diocese and Mrs. Satterlee; the President and Mrs. Roosevelt were both fresh. But I pitied them for the ordeal they were to go through during the next hour or two. The White House has been made into a more comfortable and commodious place of residence by the present President, not much extension, I think, but much fitting and beautifying of rooms (on the level of the front and much above the level of the side entrance) which had been used as small offices or lumber rooms, or left unused.

I was one day, the 25th of October, at lunch at the White House. There were besides the President and Mrs. Roosevelt, the Secretary for War and his wife and two or three other chief officials, Bishop and Mrs. Doane, and myself. I took in Mrs. Roosevelt and had some talk with her at lunch. She is very pleasant and

* At this meeting Bishop Doane said: "It is Glastonbury over again." The Archbishop responded: "More than that; Glastonbury was looking backwards; this is looking forward. I would have come 10,000 miles just to attend this service and the meeting of yesterday."

bright. After lunch the ladies retired to the Blue Room and the gentlemen to another spacious room. The President had asked me to speak with him on various matters, and we had a lengthened conversation which interested us both. He is evidently a man deeply in earnest for the welfare of his country, glad to promote friendly feeling and unity of action with Great Britain, and possessing sound views as to what is the true spirit in, and what the practical limitations under which the negro question in this country should be dealt with. I cannot now write more. I came to Brooklyn from Washington yesterday evening, and have been to-day to see various people in New York, chiefly with a view to help Jamaica.

After much hard work, including a plea for the hurricane-stricken churches in Jamaica, he sailed in the *Altai* on the 14th of November, landing at Kingston on the 19th, at 5.30. p.m., after on the whole a very good and pleasant voyage.

The remaining part of the year was much occupied in making arrangements for the restoration of churches destroyed by the hurricane.

In January, 1904, he, in common with eleven other educationists of various denominations, signed a pamphlet entitled "Statement of Suggested Changes in the Elementary Education of Jamaica," its aim being to meet in a comprehensive manner what was vital to the convictions of different sections of the community without unfairness to others; and he dealt with the subject at some length in his annual address to Synod.

At this time, in view of the fact that there was a strong desire on the part of many people in Jamaica that effective religious teaching should be given in the elementary day schools, strengthened by the consciousness that a large number of children were not likely otherwise to be brought under the influence of moral and religious teaching, the Archbishop got together a committee, of which he was chairman, consisting of the leading men of the Protestant ministry in the island of all denominations.

The first edition of the Catechism, "prepared for the use of the public elementary schools in Jamaica," was published in January, 1905, other editions followed.

It was only a numerically small opposition that prevented its compulsory use in the elementary schools of the colony.

Of the Catechism he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

> If, in the midst of your manifold labours, you can find time to look at the enclosed Catechism and papers explanatory thereof, I think you will be interested. You will therein see how we are endeavouring in Jamaica, with some good hope of success, to secure a uniform system of religious and moral instruction in all public elementary schools of the island. I think that, at least, by the method adopted a great part of what we should wish to teach in schools of our own will be well taught, that Church of England children will have nothing to unlearn in Church and Sunday School, and that it will be our own fault if in Church and Sunday School we cannot effectively supplement, as regards the doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments, what is only briefly referred to in the Catechism.

In this year also was published "Five Lectures on the Life of the World to Come. Delivered by the Archbishop in the Parish Church, Kingston, Jamaica, during Lent, 1904."

The opening lectures deal with possibilities, probabilities and evidence. The Archbishop was not a philosopher, but his arguments are clear and logical. The best lectures were numbers four and five, dealing with exposition of particular texts; they give evidence of his early Wesleyan training, and characteristically finish with evangelical appeal:

> "There was no other good enough
> To pay the price of sin,
> He only could unlock the gate
> Of Heaven and let us in."

During several months of the year Bishop Ormsby, of Honduras, did a great deal of missionary work in Jamaica and generally assisted the Archbishop, as Bishop Douêt had retired on account of ill-health.

In January, 1905, Bishop Welldon stayed in Jamaica for a few days, and visited the Archbishop at the Lodge.

The Synod this year left to him the appointment of a successor to Bishop Douèt. At the same Synod it was decided to use one hymn-book throughout the Diocese, and " Church Hymns " was the one chosen.

He wrote to the Bishop of Gibraltar (Collins):

I shall bring before the Provincial Synod, which is to meet in Barbados on the 6th of May, your suggestion about the Primacy of this Province. It will be very difficult to get any action taken which will permanently attach the Primacy to one See. The fact is that, while combination and consolidation have been talked of again and again in regard to Civil Government, nothing has ever been done. Our Provincial Synod is the only organization which deals with the interests of the West Indies as a whole, and the work of unifying is in its early stage. There is very little connection between one Diocese and another, which is partly an inevitable result of our geographical isolation. However, it is only in accordance with precedent of British history that the Church should be in advance of the State as a unifying agency. . . .

With regard to the resignation of Bishop Douèt, at a joint meeting of the Diocesan Council and the Diocesan Financial Board a resolution was adopted of which the following is an abstract:

The Diocesan Council and the Diocesan Financial Board learn with profound regret, that the Right Reverend Charles Frederick Douèt, D.D., Assistant Bishop of this Diocese, acting under the highest medical advice, which prohibits his return to the tropics, has been compelled to resign his appointment as Assistant Bishop.

The announcement of this decision will be received throughout the Diocese by all the members of the Church of England in Jamaica with genuine sorrow, for Bishop Douèt, during his tenure of this office (extending to a period of sixteen years and including visitations to every church in the Diocese), has endeared himself to our congregations by his kindness of manner, genial disposition, and his heartfelt sympathy, and by the sterling nobility of his character, and the faithfulness with which all his episcopal duties have been performed. And nowhere will his presence be more missed than in the meetings of the Church Boards, where his conciliatory temper, and the stimulus of his self-denying energy, have been most valuable.

The position filled by Bishop Douèt, in Educational as well as Church matters, is one that will be exceedingly difficult for any other to occupy, as no one knew the wants and dispositions of

our people better, and his advice and co-operation at every stage of educational development in this colony during the last thirty years have been most valuable.

In his address to the Synod the Archbishop, when referring to the retirement of Bishop Douèt, said:

I should think it is a unique experience for a Bishop and an Assistant Bishop to work together, as Bishop Douèt and myself have done, for sixteen years under difficult conditions, and in circumstances in which there has constantly been room for diversity of opinion and action, and yet no thought, or word, or act indicating annoyance or misunderstanding, and no failure in active mutual co-operation, has occurred.

From this address to the Synod one may quote what he said on compulsory education, for which he ever strove:

I must point out, however, the grave fact that our Primary Education is not reaching half the population, and the proportion of children in the schools is growing smaller instead of larger. I look forward with distress to the ultimate results of this failure to educate our people. We are in a serious dilemma. If the pressure of compulsory attendance were applied under our present regulations the cost of educating the increased numbers brought into the schools would amount to more than the Government and the Legislative Council are prepared to meet, but if we go on as we are doing half the population of the present generation will be illiterate. What I have in mind as possible may be briefly stated in this way. Bring in compulsory regulations for the whole island and provide a free education for every child for four years, from the age of eight to the age of twelve. During that period insist on scholars being well grounded in the four "R's" (Reading, 'Riting, 'Rithmetic, Religious Teaching), and also in as much of agriculture and manual training as is possible in those ages. For pupils between the ages of five and eight, and for those between the ages of twelve and sixteen, let the Government only give assistance to the extent of one-fourth of such cost and let the parents provide the remainder of the cost by fees to be paid weekly. I simply offer this as a suggestion.

But I repeat, I am not content to know that half of our children are growing up in ignorance, and that there is no remedy in prospect; we ought to find some way to prevent the evil results which must follow the present unsatisfactory educational conditions.

Of the Jamaica day school Catechism he said in the same address:

By the general and regular use of this manual the religious difficulty in the way of hearty co-operation among educational workers will be surmounted, so that, whether or not in any given district it be educationally or financially desirable that schools remain denominational or become Government schools, there will be the consciousness on the part of all interested that the religious and moral teaching given will be uniform and, at least, as far as it goes, satisfactory, and such as will furnish a solid basis for further instruction in the case of those children to whom the opportunity may come in the Church and the Sunday School. Thus one important step will be made towards the unifying of the educational work of the island.

And he wound up, after dealing with several theological matters of controversy, by saying:

It has been my aim, during my long period of service in the Jamaica Church, including an Episcopate of a quarter of a century, to take this course in most things. I have desired that we in Jamaica should keep clear of British and European and American controversies in regard to all secondary matters, however important, and that we should be in a position to welcome and use in due course the abiding results of such controversies. I have wished to see our people become strongly established in the great verities of the Faith, at the same time sharing intelligently and actively in the life of their Church, both as regards its teaching, its worship, and its work. I am persuaded that not otherwise can they get and keep nearer to the great heart of God's truth, and realize more fully the benefit of Christ's salvation. In matters of worship I have striven to have our service conducted always with a view to the necessity that the people of our Church living in a district and having access only to one church, should be able to worship happily and comfortably in that church disturbed neither by excrescences nor defects in the manner of worship. I have desired, too, that while loving our Church with an intense love, and serving in it with a faithful service, we should acquire the habit of living and working in harmony with all other Christians to the fullest extent possible, and of thus helping to prepare the way for that fuller and deeper unity of the Church in the future which I believe will come, because intended by our Lord Himself. I have desired that we should aim to be loyal always to essential truth, and to the constituted order of the Church, but that we should avoid magnifying and emphasising individual and sectional

opinions, and particularly that we should not, any of us, so think and speak and act now concerning other Christians that we shall be ashamed when we meet them in our Father's Home above. I am thankful that in these things I have had the warm support of the great body of our clergy and laity. I believe all this teaching and these endeavours and aspirations are in accordance with its broad sympathies, its clear teaching on the great things of God, its absence of dogmatic definition in matters of theological opinion, and they are in accordance also with the letter and the spirit of its devotions, as in the great prayer for the Church Militant, and in that For all Conditions of Men, in which we pray "that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life," and they are in accordance with the position of our Church as a great spiritual organization representing an imperial race, and seeking also to gather within its ample folds men of many other races, and they are in accordance with the example and practice of its greatest and best representatives in every past generation, and they are in accordance with the authoritative advice of its united episcopate in its most recent gatherings at Lambeth, and they are in accordance with the interests of the Church, as serving God and fulfilling His purposes to all mankind. Let us go steadily on our way through all difficulties and obstacles, aiming to win men and women to the love and service of God, to a true earthly and a true heavenly citizenship; and may we be conspicuous above all things in the three graces of Faith, Hope, and Charity.

On the 1st of May he left in the *Tagus* for England. On the 5th Trinidad was reached. The Bishop of Trinidad and the representatives of the clergy and the laity came in a steam launch to welcome Mr. Farrar, Bishop Elect of Antigua, and himself to the island.* They went to the Cathedral for service, then to the Bishop's house. Then to Government House. Later a drive was taken round the Savanna and to some places of interest.

Immediately on arrival at Barbados, on the 6th, the opening service of the Provincial Synod took place at the Cathedral, the business being transacted at Bishop's Court. There were present the Archbishop and the

* Bishop Farrar had been, in 1904–05, Acting Warden of the Theological College, Jamaica.

ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH, KINGSTON

THE PARISH CHURCH, KINGSTON

Bishops of Barbados (Swaby), of Trinidad (Welsh), of Guiana (Parry), and of Antigua (Farrar), who was consecrated on the 7th.

The Archbishop also did some work in connection with Codrington College, and left Barbados on the 20th, reaching Southampton on the 1st of June, going, as was his wont, at once to Belsize Park. Then followed the usual round—Lambeth Palace, Colonial Office, Mico Trustees, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Mildmay, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Jamaica Church Aid Association, Church Missionary Society, Bible Society, and others, and visits to Oxford, Walton-on-Thames, Kensington, Ashton Hayes, and a visit to Bishop and Mrs. Douèt at Boscombe.

In England he arranged for the transference of the Church work on the Isthmus of Panama to America.

After consultation, the Rev. A. E. Joscelyne was appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Jamaica.

On the 5th of August the Archbishop went to the Crystal Palace specially to see the Jamaica Court in the Colonial Exhibition—"Well arranged and creditable on the whole, though small; somebody needed to talk to people about Jamaica. The other courts also interested me." The time from the 14th of August to the 13th of September was spent at Richmond, Yorkshire.

On the 21st of October he left Avonmouth in the *Port Kingston*, reaching Jamaica on the 1st of November.

In 1906, on the 2nd of January, he records: "To a meeting of Teachers' Union, St. George's School Room, at 11 a.m." He gave an address, "partly on some topics which were distasteful to the meeting. But the thing had to be done."

In concluding his address to Synod, he said:

I have found it a helpful mental and spiritual exercise and a strong moral tonic to make some effort every day to get into fellowship with minds representing modes of religious and ecclesiastical thought and feeling other than my own. By utilizing the half-hours which can sometimes be snatched from the claims of a busy life I can thus, in the course of every year, have some real

and considerable contact with the thought and feeling of the best representatives of every section of the Church in every age of Christendom, and with both ancient and modern representatives of moral and religious thought and philanthropic action outside of Christendom. I commend this habit to all such as have mental and spiritual robustness sufficient to profit by the clear air and wide expanse of vision which only dwellers in the mountains can enjoy. If you can do this, things will come to your mind and heart which cannot reach you in the sheltered valleys inhabited only by those of your own way of thinking and feeling. One result of this broader outlook will be a sense of shame in the presence of the higher conceptions of God and human duty, and of the unflinching obedience to conscience, often manifested in the writings and the lives of numerous heathens and heretics and imperfectly instructed as well as orthodox Christians in past ages, and also in the case of many modern Christians not belonging to our branch of the Church. Another result will be hopefulness respecting the final results of the world-wide conflict with evil, as you realize that, notwithstanding the imperfectness of knowledge, and the lack of mutual understanding, and of unity of effort among those who are seeking the welfare of the Kingdom of God, the multitude thereof is great, and that the Divine purposes, notwithstanding the disorganization of the forces which make for righteousness, are being fulfilled in many ways. Elijah is not the only one true to the God of Israel. There are beside him 7,000 men who have not bowed the knee to Baal. And I trust that another result of this wider outlook will be that you will determine that, while quietly and steadily and manfully performing your individual service of God in your own church, you will also pray and work for the promotion of that better understanding and that evident and practical unity in faith and service among all the servants of God, which are necessary in order that the final victory of righteousness over sin may be more speedily accomplished, and the Kingdom of God may come in its fulness and power. It will come. It is coming even through present failure, and loss, and sometimes apparently hopeless conflict.

CHAPTER VII

1907–1910

THE EARTHQUAKE

ON Monday, the ever memorable 14th of January, 1907, the Archbishop attended the meeting of the West India Agricultural Conference at the old Mico buildings. There was a large and representative gathering. Sir Alexander Swettenham, the Governor, delivered a brief opening address welcoming the delegates. Then the chairman, Sir Daniel Morris, Commissioner of Agriculture for the West Indies, gave his address outlining the business that he hoped the Conference would be able to get through. In response to special request the Archbishop spoke on the spur of the moment thanking the chairman for his address, and, as requested, dealt with some points in the chairman's address. A Demerara delegate seconded. In the interval of adjournment the Archbishop presided at the committee of the educational section. In his diary he recorded:

The Conference met again at half-past two. One of the speakers had just concluded his address when a severe shock of earthquake occurred, which in a few minutes did immense damage to Kingston and neighbourhood. At the time of the shock I was sitting on the platform, and seated near me were Sir Daniel Morris (Chairman), His Excellency the Governor, the Earl of Dudley, Mr. Arnold Forster, M.P. (late Secretary of War), and a full complement of representative men from various parts of the West Indies, as well as Jamaica, in the body of the room. There seemed no likelihood of our coming through the frightful conditions of the earthquake with our lives, but while the adjoining buildings were partially or wholly destroyed we were mercifully preserved, as the room, though injured and terribly shaken, did not fall, and we were able to get with safety into the open ground

after the terrible shock was over. I immediately went to look at as many Church buildings as possible, and to see and assist such persons in distress as I could. I then hurried up to Bishop's Lodge, which I found terribly damaged, and which will be difficult to repair, as the walls are very badly damaged where they are not actually thrown down. Our Church Theological College is also badly damaged, though it appears as if it can be more easily repaired than the Lodge. I then hurried off to see Ernest and his wife and their little daughter at their home, Réka Dôm. I learnt that Ernest had been in Water Lane at the time of the earthquake and in imminent danger. He was, however, providentially preserved, and only sustained very slight injuries, through falling bricks. His wife and child were unhurt, and the house comparatively little damaged. When I reached Stony Hill I was grateful to find my wife and daughter Clare uninjured by the shock, though both terribly shaken, especially Clare, who had been far from well for some days. The inmates at the Orphanage also sustained little injury. The wooden portions of Belmont House and the Orphanage have escaped with very little injury, though there has been much destruction of plaster, and the place is filled with dust from the shaken plaster. We all rested in the night with some little sleep. Minor shocks are continually taking place. Most of them are not severe enough to cause structural damage, though some of them are quite sufficient to shake down any loosened material. During the night we also watched with sad interest the progress of the fire that broke out in Kingston after the earthquake.*

He at once gave indications of that power of dealing with the results of the disaster which was amply testified by his untiring labours throughout the following months and years.

It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the Archbishop, by his foresight and power to lead, averted a grave disaster. On the morning after the earthquake he formed a committee for the purpose of organizing relief for the destitute, and on the 17th he received a letter from the Governor, asking him to accept a commission and form a general Relief Committee. He at once got together as many Ministers of Religion and representative laymen as possible. The committee met

* It was later proved in the Law Courts that a fire preceded the earthquake.

and agreed on outlines of plans, and first efforts to be made, at 10 o'clock on the lawn of St. George's Rectory, as being near to Headquarters House, with which the Archbishop was in constant communication, the lawn being the safest accessible, central place. Then followed daily meetings on St. George's Rectory lawn. As chairman of this hastily formed committee, and later of its successor, the Assistance Committee, he dealt with every difficulty that arose in a manner that settled many a petty quarrel, and evoked the admiration of all classes, residing the while in his coach-house, all that was habitable of Bishop's Lodge, and one wonders how, amidst this ceaseless and anxious work, he found time within the first four weeks to prepare an elaborate address to Synod dealing with many subjects; the Synod meeting on two days in a tent on the Theological College grounds, on the third under a guinep-tree at Bishop's Lodge.

On the 16th, he drafted (from the coach-house of Bishop's Lodge), to send home for the information of the various Church Societies in England and his commissaries, a lengthy and detailed account of the earthquake and, so far as was then ascertainable, the damage done.

In writing to Mr Sydney Olivier on the 29th of January, 1907, he said: " . . . There is much that I now would like to say to you, but cannot write. It may be summed up in one brief sentence—' Would that you were here to help us now !' "

After the hungry had been fed, the sick attended to, and the homeless afforded shelter, the Archbishop devoted his attention to the great question of the reconstruction of Kingston.

Associated with Mr. A. W. Farquharson, he went on the 14th of March, as a deputation to England, selected by the unanimous wish of the people, to ask for help for Jamaica in her hour of need. He interviewed a number of people of influence—Lord Elgin, Mr. Winston Churchill, Professor Milne, Mr. Arnold Forster, Mr. Asquith, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Dr. (now Sir George)

Parkin, Mr. (now Sir Charles) Lucas, the late Sir Alfred Jones, Mr. (now Sir Sydney) Olivier, and many others.

On the 1st of April he wrote:

Mr. Olivier's appointment as Governor of Jamaica* was announced in *The Times* this morning. I had every reason on leaving the Colonial Office on Saturday to expect that this would be so. It removes a great load from me as to arrangements for future management of loan and grant—if we get them. Mr. Olivier will, no doubt, take up the threads of partly matured plans and carry them on to completion either as designed or in a more workable shape. We are quite agreed on all points of importance.

I have no doubt he will now be better able than he was before to help us to get the grant and the loan.† I know no one whose appointment would have contained such promise of good for all Jamaica interests at this time as Mr. Olivier's. I scarcely dared to hope that some of the difficulties in the way of his appointment would be got over.

On the 17th:

In the afternoon interview at Colonial Office with Mr. Winston Churchill. Present also Mr. Farquharson and Mr. Olivier. He has some serious theoretical objections to the grant. I should have little doubt about convincing him that the ideas he has had of meeting the difficulties of the indigent by a loan are workable if there were time to discuss all details carefully. But all the Parliament men have so much to do that they cannot really go into things as they should. However, Mr. Churchill admitted that some of the things we said made a great impression on him. It was a case of exercising patience and trying to hope on.

On the 27th of April he was present at the laying of the corner-stone of the new house of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel by the Prince of Wales, at which he was presented to the Prince and Princess. The Prince referred to his last visit to Jamaica and to the earthquake disaster.

While in England the Archbishop pleaded for the Jamaica churches, and also interested himself in the cause of the other religious denominations which had suffered in common with the Church of England.

* Sir Alexander Swettenham gave up office on the 3rd of May.

† The grant was £150,000, and the loan £800,000.

Even on his journey in the train down to Avonmouth, he found time to elaborate arrangements for the development of the Bristol branch of the Jamaica Church Aid Association.

On his return, on the 30th of May, he received a hearty public welcome, and votes of thanks from several influential bodies, and took up again the labours of reconstruction, being chairman of the Assistance Committee for administering the Imperial Grant, which took over the work of all previous committees.

From that time onwards he devoted much time to establishing a principle, secured in 1911, of insuring Church property against hurricane and earthquake as well as fire.

On the 31st of August of the same year he sailed for America, where he took part in the laying of the foundation-stone of Washington Cathedral at Mount St. Alban. On the 24th of September the President of the United States attended and gave a brief address. The Archbishop was placed on his right and read the lessons. The Bishop of London was the principal speaker.

He attended, at Richmond, a general convention of the American Church. On the 3rd of October he wrote:

> Attended the House of Deputies at 10.15. By arrangement was presented and gave address. The other foreign Bishops were presented later in the day. At 11 gave an address by request to the House of Bishops sitting in Council on the subject of the *Negro question* as now under discussion in the American Church. The Bishop of London and the other foreign Bishops were also present. After the address I was catechized by a large number of the Bishops on various points for about an hour. Finally, I was thanked for my address, which was stated to have been felt to be very important and helpful, and requested to let the House have it in writing, that it might be printed either for private or more public use during the present session of the Convention as might be deemed fit. I promised to do this if possible in New York and send it to them.

In a letter he wrote at the time to one of his family he said:

My *private* discussion with the Bishops on the whole Negro question as affecting the Church in America was, in the immediate results and the issues involved, the most important thing I have had to do for a long time.

To "Mankind and the Church," by seven Bishops, being an attempt to estimate the contribution of great races to the fulness of the Church of God, he contributed a section dealing with the special influence which the African or Negro race may exercise on the future developments of Christianity. From it may be quoted the following:

To sum up, therefore, the indications resulting from the various facts discussed in this article, the subjects, the habits of thought, and the modes of action in which the Christianity of the Negro race will, to a considerable degree, affect the sum-total of Christianity in the future, may be stated under the following heads: (1) Realizing the personality of God and the objectivity of Divine manifestation. Cheerful acceptance of all providential arrangements as acts of a wise and loving God. Old Testament religion in a Christian form. (2) The emotional element generally in the presentation of truth, and the experimental realizing of it. (3) Musical tastes of a particular kind, and the emotional expression of religious ideas in music, in song, and in worship. (4) The social element. The sense of brotherhood in the Church. Taking an active personal share in the services of public worship, and in the actual work of the Church. Supporting the Church financially. Community in the service and sympathy in affliction and in joy, as well as in sorrow. (5) A strong appreciation of the authority of the Church, and the recognition of the value of its disciplinary arrangements.

To "Church and Empire," edited by the Rev. J. Ellison, M.A., and the Rev. G. H. S. Walpole, D.D., he contributed, also in 1907, in collaboration with the Rev. Thomas Parker George, then curate of the Parish Church, Kingston (whose collaboration was sought owing to many calls on the Archbishop's time), an article entitled "The West Indies."

In Synod in this year, 1907, in spite of his time being more than usually occupied, he made a lengthy address, in which occur the following remarks on:

Tendencies to Insularity.—Judging by the light of one's own earlier and later experience and observation, and by the remarks frequently made by veterans in foreign work in many countries, one of the besetting temptations to Englishmen, and specially those who represent English Christianity (of all denominations), is that insularity which makes it difficult to get out of the influence of opinions and methods in which men have grown up. This is probably the reason why the Englishman in the early years of his life abroad, so often quite unwittingly, offends the people with whom he comes into contact. He does not understand their point of view nor they his. I once heard a wise and able old Indian missionary advise a group of Englishmen just starting for India for the first time, to wait for three years before venturing to suppose that they could form a correct opinion concerning many of the facts and incidents which would come under their notice. But when the heart is right and the purpose true, the mistakes of earlier years can be retrieved, and all is well. I am sure that, besides obtaining other real benefits, many a young Englishman has been saved from great blunders in social life and clerical work by his three years' residence in our Theological College.

But it is well for Jamaicans to realize that if Englishmen suffer from insularity and limited experience of the wide world, and of the work and needs of the Church throughout the world, there is still greater danger of this kind surrounding those who are brought up in small communities like these West Indian Colonies, and the phase of the danger which concerns us is the temptation to look upon the Church, not in its wider aims and purposes, but as a purely local organization with very limited interests. I think we have done our best in Jamaica for many years past to try and avoid this danger, but it needs constant watchfulness. As regards the ministry of our Church, the endeavour has been steadily made to elevate the standard of training, and to find an open door of service for the best available sons of Jamaica, and I trust it will be increasingly the determination of those best sons—I mean best by character and training and by general fitness—to offer themselves for the work of the Church. Similarly, there has been an endeavour, which I trust will be constantly pursued, to secure an infusion of new blood from the Mother Country, but not to seek or be satisfied with Englishmen of an inferior type. I constantly have proposals with regard to English workers, evidently based on the belief that any sort of candidate who is at all decent will suffice for Colonial work, and I have constantly to reply that I do not want candidates from England for ministerial service in Jamaica, except such as have either been effectively trained already, or those who can bring with them clear evidences

that they have in them the power to acquire adequate attainments and to fit themselves for the highest type of service here. Bearing in mind what has been said, let there be no failure of loving concord and true sympathy, and hearty united service, between men born in this Colony and those who come from the Motherland. Let each seek to qualify himself to the utmost to serve the Lord Christ in His Church, and to remember that the Church is one.

On the 31st of March, 1908, he wrote:

Assistance Committee, 11 to 1. This is the last of the regular daily meetings of the Committee. All applications have been gone through and dealt with at once, and many have been revised and are being gone over a second time. A considerable amount of important business of a general character requires still to be done. This will probably require meetings once a week for some time yet. Also a number of small cases that have been decided will have to be gone over to check the awards and perhaps revise the awards in some cases of appeal.

On the 21st of May he sailed for England, reaching Avonmouth Dock on the 4th of June at 7.15 p.m. He found that a meeting of the Jamaica Church Aid Association was to begin at 8 p.m. at the Victoria Rooms, Clifton. He managed to get there at 8.50. The Bishop of Bristol was presiding, and had spoken. Bishop Joscelyne was speaking. "I took up the thread of the talk as best I could. A well-attended and I hope useful meeting."

His manner of dealing with the emergency was in marked contrast to that of one of his older clergy on a similar occasion, who, when coming into Synod during a debate, took a seat in the front row in the hall instead of his usual place on the platform. When the speaker sat down he rose and made a fervent speech, *de omnibus rebus*, and, as he resumed his seat, turned to his next-door neighbour, and said: "What is the subject under debate?"

During this visit the Archbishop received the honorary degrees of Doctor of Civil Law from Durham University and Doctor of Laws from Cambridge. He took a prominent part in the Lambeth Conference, the deliberations of the Consultative Committee, and the work of the Pan-Anglican Congress. He spent three days at Lambeth as the guest of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

On the 19th of June he gave one of the three addresses at the great service in St. Paul's Cathedral.

He was present at a reception at Windsor Castle, where about twenty military people and twenty civilians were presented to the King and Queen, and ten or twelve Metropolitans and Archbishops. "The King asked me very kindly about present conditions in Jamaica following on the earthquake." Other receptions were at Marlborough House, the Foreign Office ("great crush; long delay in getting home"), and the Colonial Office.

On the 20th of July, he went to Buckingham Palace, where all the Bishops of the Lambeth Conference were presented to the King and Queen in the Throne Room. The Archbishop of Canterbury then read the address on behalf of the Lambeth Conference. The King read his reply in a clear tone, though he was evidently much touched by the references in the address, including the indication that it came from a body representing all parts of his dominions and also the United States and many foreign countries. After this the Archbishop of Canterbury called four or five of the Archbishops and Metropolitans, of whom Dr. Nuttall was one, to speak one after another to the King and Queen. He noted:

> In speaking with me the King referred to Jamaica, my long connection with it, and the visits of "his brother and sons," as he expressed it, and his regret that he had not been there himself. I told His Majesty of the gratitude of the Jamaica people for his sympathy generally, and especially for his action at the time of the earthquake by starting the Mansion House Fund by sending his own subscription.

At this time in writing to a friend he said, in reference to the Lambeth Conference:

> I am strengthened and comforted in all that is going on by the realization of the growth of spiritual earnestness and life amongst the Bishops, and the increase of true sympathy with and appreciation of the Christian endeavours of those belonging to the churches and religious communities. These are fundamental things and improvement therein will carry with it presently many other beneficial developments.

I wish this education matter could be settled on the basis of each party trying to see and be just to the claims and views of the others.

He then met at Settle, in Yorkshire, his younger brother from South Africa, who had risen to high honour in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Rev. Ezra Nuttall, whom he had not seen for many years. Together they visited Bolton, Gisburn, Barnoldswick, and their father's and mother's grave at St. Mary-le-Gill. "Hardly anyone left who lived in these places when we were young."

At this time he wrote to his daughter Isabel from Settle, in the only undated letter that the writer has ever seen in the Archbishop's handwriting:

Ever since I came here I have wished that you were all in this neighbourhood. The scenery is grand (for England) and the walks delightful. I suppose it would be as difficult to get rooms here for a large party as anywhere else. My sister is coming to see us to-night. She will have to sleep in a neighbouring house. Rev. Mr. Browne, of Hamilton, is also coming. I suppose he will find quarters at an hotel in the town. Yesterday, we had a long drive. Among other places we went to St. Mary-le-Gill, where my mother and father are buried. I wrapped up well and do not seem to have suffered.

To-day we had a three hours' stroll. Among other things we looked through Giggleswick School, then through the new chapel built on the top of a hill on the grounds at a cost of thirty thousand pounds by a liberal and wealthy, but I should think eccentric, member of the governing body. I could undertake to build a church on the same model, I think, for £15,000. The principal feature is a central dome.

During this trip to Yorkshire the Archbishop spent some weeks at Whitby. He walked almost daily, and once he did five miles across the moors from Goathland to Sleights.

On the 7th of October he wrote:

To Mr. Hugh Lee, The Sanctuary. Found that the Archbishop of Canterbury has accepted my suggestions for settling arrangements as to oath of Canonical obedience in Consecration in England of Bishops for the Colonies. My suggestions through Mr. Lee were based on the Lambeth Conference resolutions in 1897, and my note at the end of the last reprint of our *Provincial*

Canons. The Archbishop has had a formal document drawn out as to the procedure in future which admirably covers the whole case, and will, I hope, satisfy Colonial Bishops throughout the world, and put an end to the criticisms which have been made as to the existing practice.

He presided over a Provincial Synod of the West Indies that year held in London, the only place where *all* the Bishops of the Province had hitherto found it possible to meet. He also attended the Pan-Anglican Congress, and presided at some of its meetings and spoke at many.

On his return to Jamaica he wrote, under date the 3rd of November: "Received address of welcome from church-people and others with purse of 150 guineas." A small portion (£40) of this provided a pair of travelling horses, and the remainder went towards the erection of the chapel at Bishop's Lodge.

In 1909 he did not pay his usual visit to England. The year was devoted to hard routine work. He took a special interest in social work, and especially in the housing for the poor of Kingston and model dwellings, which resulted in the formation of the Kingston Model Dwellings, Ltd. He played a leading part in the formation and work of the unfortunately short-lived Malaria Commission. He spent much time, too, in arranging for the restoration and re-dedication of churches damaged and destroyed by the earthquake.

On the 6th of April he unveiled a tablet in St. Matthew's, Allman Town, which sets forth that the building was restored after the earthquake, chiefly from funds contributed to perpetuate the memory of Bishop Spencer in Jamaica.

In a letter which he wrote in May to his daughter in England, he said:

> Owing chiefly to the absence of rain in this part of the island, the heat in and about Kingston (with unclouded sun and glare) is appalling. Fancy a heaven like the poet's: "No midnight shade, no clouded sun, but sacred high, eternal noon!"

On Thursday, the 12th of August, at the Kingston Parish Church Rectory, he met and spoke to about thirty-five Syrians whom the rector (Rev. R. J. Ripley) had invited to tea with a few representatives of the Church Committee, the object being to bring them into closer relationship with the Church, and services, and helping and guiding them in the education of their children.

His sad experience of the intense misery and great expense caused by hurricanes finds expression in his diary. On the 23rd of August he wrote:

Attended the opening meeting of the Mandeville Annual Convention at the Parish Church, and gave the address. Much disquiet during the day about the state of the weather, which looked very threatening, and telegrams reported approach of a hurricane.

And on the morrow:

At Spanish Town got papers which furnished the glad news that hurricane had passed Jamaica and gone north.

In September he wrote to his daughter:

My horses have turned out badly. The more valuable of the two has fallen and broken his knees in such a way that he will not be reliable for carriage work again. This is the first time in my life that I have acted on anybody's judgment but my own in buying horses. I shall have to return to my old plan of getting all the information I can, and then judging for myself.

Mr. Raymond Blathwayt, in his "Through Life and round the World," wrote of his visit to Jamaica:

And pre-eminent among the white population was the stately and yet simple and homely figure of the erstwhile North Country Wesleyan minister (*sic*) who then bore ecclesiastical rule in our West Indian Empire as His Grace the Archbishop of the West Indies. Dr. Enos Nuttall was a man of whom any community, in any part of the world, might well be proud. A splendid Elizabethan figure, he always reminded me of Burleigh; a fine ecclesiastic, astute, autocratic, and yet wonderfully sympathetic, and a man of genuine and unaffected piety, he was an even finer statesman. The Archbishop of the West Indies was one of the greatest Imperialists and one of the most outstanding personalities I have ever

met, and in him the late King Edward always recognized one of the most sagacious personalities in his realm. The West Indies were intensely proud of him. I rejoice to think he was one of the most valued friends I ever possessed, and a man of apostolic simplicity of life. He was living when I knew him in a stableyard, his own house having been demolished by the terrible earthquake that laid Kingston in ruins in 1907.

The Archbishop presided at a lecture which Mr. Blathwayt gave in Kingston in March, 1909.

As an example of his desire to perform work undertaken in spite of great difficulties, one may quote the entry in his diary on the 12th of November:

Archdeacon Davis, as I left Savanna-la-Mar, and Mr. Edward Snow urged me not to attempt the journey to Vaughansfield. Mrs. Heaver also wrote from Montpelier that I had better not attempt a committee meeting there as intended. I could get no information by telegraph in response to messages sent. It seemed to me later in the day that the weather looked more promising. I determined, therefore, to go to Montpelier in the afternoon, which I did; found the Committeemen present. Held a meeting, then saw Mr. Heaver. Went by evening train to Montego Bay to the Rectory. After dinner, a special Committee of the Montego Bay Secondary School Board came to discuss with me matters connected with proposed development of the school. It was very wet. Mr. Kerr strongly urged me not to attempt Vaughansfield next day.

Saturday, 13*th*.—Rain. It seemed to me to promise improvement and I could not hear that the roads were impassable. Started at 9.30 for Vaughansfield with good buggy and horse and driver. Weather greatly improved as time went on. Road very heavy. It took us four hours and twenty minutes to get to Vaughansfield —17 miles.

In his address to the Synod of 1909 he thus referred to affairs of the Province:

As regards *The Ecclesiastical Province of the West Indies*, I have to report that the Provincial Synod met in London last year at the time of the Lambeth Conference, and transacted a considerable amount of important business. Nearly all of it is reported in the printed journal which has been privately published, and is available for use by my official advisers and others interested. I

quote from my address the following references to the Provincial Synod:

"As most of you know, our West Indian Provincial Synod is so organized that the Bishops meet every three years; they transact some business of a private character needing their mutual consultation as Bishops, and other business transacted which affects some or all of the various Dioceses from time to time is submitted to the Diocesan Synods for concurrence before becoming operative. The Synod is now also the Provincial Council for helping to manage the affairs of Codrington College, Barbados, which, it is hoped, may in future days grow into the importance of a small University specially available for the eastern section of the West Indies.

"In the constitution of the Provincial Synod, there is provision for assembling representatives of clergy and laity as well as Bishops. This has never yet been found practicable in any degree calculated to make such combined Synod truly representative of the various Diocesan Synods, and therefore proper to be trusted with representative powers. The difficulties arising from great distances to be travelled, imperfect communication, time occupied, costs involved, are practically insuperable as bearing on the assembling at a West Indian centre not merely of some Churchmen of comparative wealth and leisure, but of a body truly representative of each Diocese. Even as regards the Bishops, these difficulties have been found so great that we have never all met together in the West Indies. Only in London, with the attraction and the need of attending to other business, have we ever all met together. We did so this year, and on one previous occasion."

And, as regards the *Pan-Anglican Congress*, what took place is well known, and my statements on this subject may, therefore, be comparatively brief. Originally suggested by Bishop Montgomery, it owed much to the stimulus and the laborious and successful efforts of the Organizing Committee.

One effect of the Congress has, undoubtedly, been to deeply impress the members of the Church of England and the English people generally with the vastness of the work carried on by our Church in all the countries of the world. This is tempered with the realization of our imperfections therein, and of the far greater work carried on in some regions of the earth by other churches and denominations. So there has been no room found for boasting, but there has been the furnishing of stimulating information as to things accomplished, further beginnings made, and developments needed everywhere.

Another result of the Congress will be a more rapid advance

by the Mother Church in utilizing the spiritual work of laymen and women, and, according them their true place, influence, and authority, in all the affairs of the Church.

After following such discussions, and realizing the opinions formed thereby, those of us who, in remote regions like Jamaica, have long ago had to act in these matters, have the satisfaction of knowing that we have not anything to unlearn in order to come into line with more modern movements in the Mother Church, but that the Mother Church is steadily following on the lines already marked out here and in other Colonies. Of course, it must be remembered that there are many Bishops, clergy, and laity in England who would long ago have taken steps in these directions if either the necessity for them had impressed itself to any sufficient degree on English Church-people, or if they had not been fettered in many ways by legal disabilities resulting from conditions formerly active and now largely obsolete.

And of the Lambeth Conference:

The Lambeth Conference possesses no legislative authority, and it would be woeful if it were largely to be organized on party lines. Its object is real conference which requires free and often confidential communication between its members, and outspoken presentation of facts or arguments, and its best spirit is shown in desiring to get at the truth of things rather than securing any party or partisan votes and victories. Diligent attendance at a Lambeth Conference is in itself an education, particularly for those who have been accustomed to state their opinions oracularly among friends or communities specially sympathetic with their views. Of course, no one, however much of a partisan, who speaks in public, especially if he be clever, is likely to have his opinions pass uncriticized, but it does seem, on a general view of what happens in both political and religious controversy, that most partisans hear or read very little of what their opponents have to say. But the Lambeth Conference is a real conference of 250 equals, not equals in learning, or power of verbal expression, or scholarship, but practically equals in status, and equals in the right and opportunity to express what they have learnt by experience of affairs, by the teaching of men and the study of the word of God. I am not surprised to find from the testimony of some of the ablest and most experienced among the younger Bishops who have spoken on the subject, that the almost entire absence of party spirit, and the invariable courtesy and frankness and fearlessness in debate, and the wish really to confer and get to the bottom of things —made the Conference to them, on this their first attendance, the most refreshing mental and spiritual experience of their life.

In December, 1909, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury:

The following resolution has been adopted at a representative meeting of the clergy and laity of Kingston and sent to me:

"That, having regard to the widespread interest and sympathy evoked in England by the destruction of churches in this Diocese through the earthquake of 1907, and to the fact that the sum of £15,000 was voted by the Appropriation Committee of the Pan-Anglican Congress towards their restoration—His Grace the Archbishop be requested to invite the most Reverend Randall T Davidson, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury, or, failing him, the Right Reverend A. F. Winnington Ingram, D.D., Bishop of London, or other English Bishops, together with the Bishops of the West Indian Province, to be present at the Consecration of the restored churches during the year 1910, when it is confidently expected that the said churches may be declared free of any debt on account of building, and when, therefore, the Archbishop will be able to issue his mandate for their consecration."

On the 29th of January, 1910, he had a very interesting conversation with Mr. Perry Robinson, who was accompanying the Royal Commission on trade relationship between Canada and the West Indies, as representative of *The Times*, and was also making special enquiries on behalf of *The Times* into West Indian affairs generally.

On the 4th of February he presided at a meeting at Wolmer's School to establish a branch of the Victoria League.

On the 27th, at about 8 o'clock, he witnessed from Belmont a great fire in lower St. Andrew, which afterwards proved to be the Mico College, recently erected after the earthquake. It was entirely destroyed.

The immense amount of personal trouble which he took in its reconstruction finds but scant reference in his diary.

On Sunday, the 17th of April, he records:

To Lodge early. Preparation of sermon and preached at St. George's new church, being first Sunday morning service held in the new church.

As an instance of the detailed care he gave to building construction, one may quote, 2nd of June:

Opening of Enfield Church at 11 o'clock. Gave an address which referred to all the facts concerning the building of the church, including the finances. Particularly called attention to the necessity of building two porches at the north and south sides (in the centre), principally that they might act as buttresses. The need for this is the length and height of the side walls.

On the 16th of June he left for England in the *Port Royal*, and landed at Avonmouth on the 29th.

On the 19th of July:

Meeting of the Central Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference at the Palace at 11 a.m.; present, the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Chair and other elected representatives—namely, the Archbishop of York, myself, Bishop Crosier of Down, Bishop of Gibraltar, Bishop of St. Albans, Bishop of Southwark, Bishop of Salisbury. Kept steadily to the discussion of the various items of the programme till half-past four, with brief interval for lunch. This, without haste or waste of time, finished the work.

In August and September he spent some weeks at Cheddar, and "Walking" occurs daily in the journal; and one pictures him as enjoying a hard-earned rest, seeing the sights of the neighbourhood and the manufacture of Cheddar cheese, and yet longing to get back to London and its interminable interviews and correspondence.

He presided in September over a Provincial Synod of the West Indies. "All the Bishops present. An important, harmonious, and useful meeting."

On October the 6th:

To Whitehall Rooms connected with Métropole Hotel. Reception Booker Washington 12.45. Complimentary lunch, 1.10. Speeches from 2.10 to 4.10. Sir Fowell Buxton (Chair); I sat on his left, Booker Washington on his right. Happily, I had not to speak, names of speakers having been arranged and printed long before I knew I could go. And all with a view to representing various interests. All spoke well except one. Booker Washington's was an admirable speech, but too long in the circumstances. One hour and a half after the proceedings had already lasted one and a half hours. Speakers: Chairman, Bishop of Exeter, Herbert Samuel, Postmaster-General, Dr. Horton, Sir Harry

Johnston, Sir Conan Doyle, Booker Washington. Chairman's health suitably proposed by P. A. Renner, Esq., a black man from the Gold Coast Colony.

He arranged for the visit of the Bishops in 1911 for the purpose of consecrating the churches of Kingston and the neighbourhood which had replaced those destroyed by the earthquake of 1907. Insurance matters, the Mico College, the church on the Isthmus of Panama, and Codrington College, demanded much of his time. He paid his usual visit to Oxford, and preached at St. Mary's.

He reached Kingston on the 10th of November, and, as was his custom, immediately "looked into some pressing business."

On the 22nd of December he wrote:

Then at 11 attended the first meeting of the new Kingston School Board appointed to organize and develop the educational work of Kingston and introduce compulsory attendance. Was sorry to have to accept the position of Chairman, which was unanimously voted by the meeting. In the circumstances it seemed necessary for me to accept, as the only thing that could be agreed upon with any approach to unity and also in the hope that I could help to overcome the difficulties arising from many peculiar circumstances out of the election of the Board, the failure of the Church of England and Protestant sections of the community to get adequate representation thereon, the failure, however, being really due, not to any unfair action by the Roman Catholics, but by the failure of the complaining sections to act with some degree of unity and the failure of others to act at all within the time specified for the election.

CHAPTER VIII

1911–1916

CLOSING YEARS

ON the 6th of January, 1911, the Bishop of St. Albans (Dr. Jacob), the Bishop of Honduras (Dr. Bury), the Bishop Elect of Antigua (Rev. Canon Hutson), Archdeacon Bryan of Panama, the Bishop of North Carolina (Dr. Cheshire), the Bishop of Trinidad (Dr. Welsh), and the Assistant Bishop of Toronto (Dr. Reeve), came to Jamaica to assist in the consecration of churches reconstructed after the earthquake.

On the 13th the Archbishop wrote:

All the visitors that felt able, including those staying at the Lodge, started at 7 o'clock in buggies to Newcastle. I went to my office for business all day. Visitors returned late in the evening, having enjoyed themselves much.

Saturday, 14*th*.—Visitors started for Castleton at 7.30. I went to my office for business, which continued all day. Left by the 4.15 train for Spanish Town.

One may here fittingly introduce a contribution from the present Bishop of Worcester (Pearce), who, as Commissary of the Archbishop, was present in Jamaica in connection with the consecration services.

It was, as far as I can remember, in the month of August, 1897, that I first became acquainted with the Archbishop. Someone (I think it must have been my late friend the Rev. John Robertson, Vicar of St. Mary, Kilburn) had mentioned me to him as suitable to be his Commissary in England. I was then in the City of London, where pastoral responsibilities were not engrossing, and I had personal knowledge of many of the home clergy. But I knew nothing of Jamaica, and hardly more than the name of its Bishop. The only link of memory was that Miss Adelaide Klein, who had been at Queen's College with my sister, had gone out to

serve under him and had died at her post. So we met as complete strangers, he and I: he a strong, richly experienced leader of five-and-fifty, and I young enough to be his son.

His letter, I remember, was a formal and rather stately offer of the opportunity to serve him and the Jamaica Church, and the first interview, which took place on my return from a holiday, was not less formal and precise. But it was the first step towards intimacy, and in the process there were never any backward steps; we marched straight forward, till he was taken from my head. When I left London a couple of years ago and had to resign those commissarial relations which his successor Bishop de Carteret kindly prolonged, I destroyed a great number of business letters which I had received from the Archbishop in the course of nineteen years. They were mostly concerned with the current details of Diocesan history—the fitness of recruits for service in the island, the arrangements for his almost regular visit to England in the summer, the need of a suitable successor to Bishop Douèt, and the like—but sometimes the "Act of God" brought in more serious happenings—a tornado or the great earthquake—and then it was necessary for the Commissary to take steps for securing special aid to meet the distress of the situation. Most of these letters were in the familiar blue typescript; only a minority were holograph. The signature developed from "E. Jamaica" into "E. Jamaica, Archbishop of the W. Indies," but what went before the signature also developed in time from "Yours truly" to "Yours affectionately." That was the only sign he allowed himself in writing that there was any advance in the personal relations, but it meant much from him, a man who never wore his heart upon his sleeve.

So the annual visit came to be greatly looked forward to by me and mine. We could never expect to have much of him, perhaps a single and very modest lunch at my vicarage in the City. The rest of his time was given to the encouragement of various Church Aid Associations in different parts of the country, or to the Central Consultative Committee of the Lambeth Conference, where he was an acknowledged tower of strength, or to another Lambeth Committee about our relations with the Moravian Brethren, as to which his knowledge was as extensive as his sympathy.

But, of course, it was not till I saw him in his island home that I really was able to estimate the greatness of the man. I knew very well that our Colonial Office expected him to call when he was in England and impart to the Secretary of State that knowledge of local politics which he had acquired by being, not a partisan, but everybody's adviser. But it was his delightful invitation to me to take part in the visit of 1911, when the rebuilt

churches were consecrated, that enabled me to see why he was what he was to Jamaica and the West Indies. I found myself part of a benevolent machinery. I was turned on to speak about subjects in which my qualifications were of the slenderest, but I spoke because he had arranged it. I had the privilege of being his guest at Bishop's Lodge and noting the devotion of his household to him. I submitted like a lamb to be physicked by him, and so did the dear Bishop of St. Albans, who needed care much more than I. Then there was the Provincial Synod in Halfway-Tree Church, at which, to my surprise, he wished his Commissary to appear, and I marked how he guided the discussion without seeming to, and gently prevented the wayfaring man from erring therein.

It is said that the law does not care about trifles. The Gospel as exemplified in this man regards nothing as too slight to help the cause of the Lord. This, at least, was what I learnt from him, and there is one instance of it which I shall never forget. At one of the 1911 services we had a beautiful unaccompanied rendering of " God is a spirit " from the *Woman of Samaria*. As we came away I commented to him on the fine quality of the voices. " Ah !" he said, " I thought that would do well. They asked me if they should have it, but I didn't agree till I had gone to the Church and had a rehearsal." A chief pastor of that invincible thoroughness is a great gift to any church, because he carries the same spirit into his higher task of commending the Gospel of God Our Saviour in all things.

In January the Archbishop wrote an interesting letter to the Bishop (Burton) of Lexington, on the status of women in the Church. It concludes:

I would add to those remarks, that while I should think it difficult to justify any system which involved the right of women, generally, to come into important executive power in the Church by the process of securing a majority of votes at elections, I should not think it difficult to justify the choice of women, possessing special gifts and attainments, to exercise such governing functions as are included in the duties and rights of membership in Diocesan Councils. I also think that the trend of opinion will more and more be in the direction which I have just specified, but subject to the limitations I have indicated.

In March, in giving permission for the Moravians to use St. George's Church, Kingston, he said:

In giving this authorization, which is of a character not uncommon in missionary countries, and in the United States, but

which is scarcely known in our Colonial Church, and probably not legally possible in England, I do not think of this act as one significant in itself. We lend you the use of our church to meet a need of yours, knowing well that the service you conduct will be a reverently religious one, in accordance with your simple Christian forms; but in regard to the whole or any part thereof we have no responsibility, or right or desire to offer criticism or suggestion. Personally, I wish to think of this as a simple act of Christian courtesy, which will become important only if it tends to show to our brethren of the Moravian Church something of the spiritual affection we feel for them, and of our sympathy with their great work for Christ in this and other lands. And I think it right to say that if there are those among our people who may be doubtful as to the wisdom of such exchanges of courtesy in the absence of more direct arrangements leading to organic unity, they also yet share with me the feeling of deep sympathy with your spiritual work. I am not, indeed, unmindful that the longed for full intercommunion (leading on, it may be, later to organic unity between us) cannot come until we have faced and settled the questions of the Ministry and the Sacraments which require to be dealt with in a manner harmonious with the convictions of our Church as well as yours. No thoughtful student of the facts of Church History and of the teachings of the Bible can think lightly of these questions.

4. Full and careful reference to these questions is embodied in the official communications from the Lambeth Conference of 1908 to the Moravian Church, and these communications and the sympathetic yet carefully worded replies of your officials and of your general Synod are still under consideration in detail by us, as our communications are under consideration by the Moravian Church.

5. I think, however, that I am interpreting aright the wishes of the last Lambeth Conference as representing the whole Anglican Communion when I act on the belief that before these great questions can be wisely and fully dealt with in a satisfactory manner there are many minor matters of a secondary kind which need to be dealt with, and in regard to which we should seek opportunities of better mutual acquaintance and of mutual helpfulness. We need to approach great questions that go down to the very roots of the organic life of the Church of Christ in a prepared attitude—that is, an attitude prepared both intellectually and spiritually.

When the important work of restoration after the earthquake had been in the main completed, a strong

feeling arose early in 1911 amongst many of those who had laboured with the Archbishop, that it would be a fitting thing if the King were asked to confer, at the time of the Coronation, some honour on him in recognition of the very valuable services he had rendered to Jamaica for many years past, especially at the time of the earthquake. The movement had the sympathy of the Governor, Sir Sydney Olivier.

A representative committee was formed in Kingston, which communicated with the leading influential men throughout the island. These all expressed themselves heartily in accord with the idea, and it was suggested that precedent existed for this, in that a number of Prelates had been made members of the Privy Council, and received the honour of knighthood, but without receiving the accolade.

During the deliberation on the subject, a proposal was made that Jamaica should not be content with asking the King to honour the Archbishop, but that the Legislature should be asked to vote an annuity to him. On its being met, however, by opposition on the part of one of the elected members, the matter was dropped, as it was felt that unless unanimity was obtained it was best left alone.

The matter, though conducted confidentially, as was to be imagined became an open secret. The desire to honour the Archbishop had the warm support of the press. In a leading article on the 11th of March, 1911, the *Daily Telegraph* said:

> It is expected that more than one resident of this Colony will receive some mark of the Sovereign's esteem and regard on the occasion of the forthcoming Coronation. Rumours have been afloat for a considerable time that at least two knighthoods will then be conferred on prominent Jamaicans; and as "there is never fire without smoke," (*sic*) it will not be surprising if such stories are proved to have been well founded. There is, however, one man in this community who, in the opinion of many influential citizens, is entitled to rank among the recipients of Coronation honours; and we hear it whispered that a movement is on foot to bring his claims prominently to the notice of the Governor and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. . . .

The proposal that the King should grant some honour to the Archbishop was committed in the form of a memorial signed by seventeen representative men of the community to the care of the Governor, who transmitted it to the Secretary of State, but the proposal was not entertained.

In February, 1911, the Archbishop wrote a very long letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury in response to a request for his opinion on the principle that a Royal Commission should be appointed to report on affairs in Jamaica. He concluded thus: "I now bring this letter to a close by the following summary statements."

1. There is much need for improvement in manifold directions in Jamaica—religious, moral, intellectual, physical, social, agricultural, industrial.

2. The needs in every one of these directions are well known and recognized. I doubt if any Commission of any sort could add to the information in the possession of intelligent members of the public and of the Government. . . .

7. If the appointment of a Royal Commission only involved the question of getting what fresh light could be obtained on the various subjects there could be little objection to such appointment except the very considerable expense involved. But the real thing to be feared in the appointment of such a Commission is the spreading abroad in other countries, as well as here, the false impression that Jamaica is a neglected, unhealthy, ill-governed, undeveloping country, where justice is not obtainable, and also the raising of expectations among the more ignorant people here as to what the Government can do for them apart from guiding and developing their own industries which must be the basis of all progress.

On the 18th of February, the opening of the newly built home of the Women's Self-Help Society, at the corner of Duke and Harbour Streets, Kingston, took place. By request the Archbishop opened the proceedings with a brief historical narrative, beginning with the first opening thirty-one years before, that is, on All Saints' Day, 1879, Lady Musgrave, the founder, having been present.

On the 21st of May the Archbishop left with Dr. (now Sir John) Pringle to represent Jamaica at the King's Coronation, staying as usual at 24, Belsize Park.

The social functions he attended were from necessity more numerous than usual, and included an At Home at Nuneham Park (Mr. Harcourt then being Secretary of State for the Colonies): a League of Empire Garden Party: a reception at Lambeth Palace

The Duchess of Albany was the principal guest, to whom a portion of the guests were presented, and also the Colonial Premiers, Lord Kitchener, and other notables. Isabel and I joined the other chief guests at supper at 12 in the Crypt. The party broke up at 12.30. To Belsize Park at 1:

a Banquet given by the West India Club

It was a large gathering of representatives of all the West Indian Colonies and their English friends and various public men of importance. Lord Glenconner, a Vice-President of the Club, presided. On his right were Sir Sydney Olivier, and other representative Colonials; on his left Mr. Asquith, Prime Minister, myself, the Prime Minister of Newfoundland (Sir Edward Morris), and other representatives of Colonial and English political life. I said grace, and in due course proposed the health of the Queen, Queen Alexandra, the Prince of Wales, and the rest of the Royal Family; spoke briefly. The most important speeches were those of Mr. Asquith, proposing the toast of the West Indies, and Sir Sydney Olivier's acknowledgment, and the speech of the Premier of Newfoundland, Sir Edward Morris. The important and in some cases lengthy speeches made the gathering a long one, as the speeches were not over till 11.30. But it was a really useful opportunity for discussing West Indian affairs, and it was well taken advantage of.

A Gala Performance at Covent Garden Theatre of His Majesty's Opera

A most brilliant scene. Performance according to modern taste. Some of it I did not like.

A Garden Party at Buckingham Palace

Saw a good many persons I was glad to have a few minutes' talk with. The King sent for me, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, saying he wished to talk with me. So I was presented, after his tea, at the tent, and he talked freely for a considerable time about several matters, which no one could overhear, including some private matters concerning Jamaica. He also expressed appreciation of what he said I had done for Jamaica, as he knew well. He was very gracious. I was afraid of staying too long as

I knew there were several people within the circle waiting to be presented. But I could not with propriety leave earlier than I did, as the King evidently wished to take time to say what was in his mind. . . . In his talk with me to-day there was no lack of fluency, clearness, point, and earnestness. He was speaking what he had thought out and was interested in.

There was also an At Home at Lady Blake's at 4.45 in Chelsea

Saw various old Jamaica friends. Princess Marie Louise, who has spent two winters with the Blakes in Ceylon, was there,

the Annual Mansion House dinner to the Bishops, and a Garden Party at Lambeth Palace

A great crowd. Was glad to meet a considerable number of individuals whom I should not otherwise have seen.

On the 21st of June he wrote:

To Lollards' Tower, Lambeth Palace, for interview with Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Winchester, about Moravian matters. Also we spoke about conditions in Jamaica resulting in my authorizing the admission to Holy Communion of Presbyterians and others not having access to Churches of their denomination. In both matters (having regard to conditions existing, and methods of meeting them) the Bishop concurs entirely in the methods I have adopted.

On the 22nd of June he wrote:

The Coronation. A great occasion not to be described here. Isabel went with me. She received a spare ticket at the last moment—that is, I brought it late last evening from Lambeth. We started from Belsize Park in a brougham at 6.45. Got to the Abbey at 8.30. I had a good seat in West Gallery of North Transept. Could see nearly everything, and hear well, except the sermon, the pulpit being blocked off from where I sat by the stone-work of the Transept. All went well. Service began at 11.15 and finished at 2. The Royal people left at 2.15 or thereabouts. We could not get our carriage till 5—so great was the crowd waiting like ourselves. A day of great memories. The tiring waiting before and after the Coronation was a fine opportunity in the quiet corner where I sat of recalling the past history with which the Abbey has been connected, and dreaming of the future and of the representative men and women there present,

and of the Empire. Got to Belsize Park very tired, but thankful for the day, and for the power to share in it without unbearable discomfort.

On the 25th:

To St. Paul's Cathedral for the service at 10.30. There was a congregation which completely filled the Cathedral, and the number of Communicants was large. I was told that a number of notables were present, including some members of the Royal Family. Also Lord Roberts. My text was Ps. lxxii. 1-2. I did my best to expound and apply in twenty minutes some of the lessons suggested by the psalm and the events of the present time —especially the Coronation. A rainy day. The service was choral. Impressive and devotional.

On the 29th he and his daughter went to St. Paul's Cathedral for the Coronation Thanksgiving Service.

It was a simple, beautiful, and touching service.

On the 1st of July he paid his usual visit to Oxford.

Then to Oxford by 1.45 train. Mr. Whittuck's: Bishop of Islington (Turner), travelled in the same carriage from Paddington onward, and we had much conversation. Meeting at the Common-Room, Oriel, Jamaica Church Aid Association. Bishop of Islington the principal speaker. He had arranged to take this position before I arranged to come from Jamaica, and I was glad of this. Sir Sydney Olivier (who has taken a home in Oxford for a few weeks) came to the meeting, and he responded to my request and spoke well from his own point of view as Secular Governor, as he termed it. A good meeting.

the Banquet of the American Society for Independence Day

Given at the Savoy Hotel, Strand, W.C. H.E. the Hon. Whitelaw Reid presided. I should think the party numbered 350 or 400. All the speeches were excellent. The real orator of the evening, a fat man, broad and deep, Hon. John T. Griffiths (American Consul-General). On my right at dinner was Sir Edwin Cornwall, a Radical M.P., and I think a former chairman for many years of the London County Council. I had a good deal of interesting talk with him, not failing to bring out his radicalism in view of present pressing questions, and to state the sections of the Government action that I objected to. . . . Such a pleasant exchange of opinions was to me satisfactory and

instructive. On my left was Mr. Richard Westacott (American Vice-Consul-General). I had also a good deal of pleasant talk with him.

On the 5th of July he went to see the play based upon "The Scarlet Pimpernel"; the principal actors were Mr. Fred Terry and Miss Julia Neilson. "It was an interesting and effective presentation of the main features of the story."

On the 7th of July he records:

I went to Lambeth Palace to see the Archbishop and spend the night. Many people there. Had an hour with the Archbishop before dinner and a quarter of an hour afterwards. Discussed fully present suggestions as to negotiations with American Church about Central America. Arrived at a clear understanding what line I should take. Further discussed possibilities as to filling up the See of Honduras. But action must wait until it is known what the local Synod will do or wish to do. Had preliminary talk concerning the action proposed by our Provincial Synod in reference to the marriage question as now raised by the Roman Decree *Ne Temere*. Also again referred to Moravian matters. He fully agreed with my action.

On the 10th:

Went to 8 o'clock dinner at the Lyceum Ladies' Club, 128, Piccadilly. Miss Pullen-Burry no doubt arranged. It was called a "dinner on behalf of the Festival of the Empire." There was a large gathering, including many overseas people. Lady Beechcroft was the President. The dinner was good, rather more simple than they usually are, which was an advantage. There were several toasts besides those of the King and Queen and Royal Family. I was one who had to respond to the toast "The Unity of Empire." It was really an interesting gathering and well managed. The speaking finished at 11.10.

Of the Archbishop Miss Pullen-Burry writes:

He was from the first one of the kindest friends I have ever had, always interested in my writing, loving to hear of any adventures or funny episodes of my travelling days, not only in Jamaica, but subsequently, whether it was as I told him when "I was swished into Hong Kong on the tail of a cyclone," or interviewing breezy Canadians who wanted me to "boost" Canada for them in my book, "From Halifax to Vancouver." When he was in London he was always so full up with engagements that it was not

easy to fix a date when he could visit me at my Club, the Lyceum. However, on these occasions of his visits to England I had the great pleasure of entertaining him there, and I think it was perhaps the only time he was ever inside a woman's Club. One day he came to one of our weekly dinners when about 130 guests and members sat down to table. These functions were generally connected with a special or topical subject, and the speeches and toasts were always relative to that particular topic—we might have a "Jamaica Dinner" or a "Poetry Dinner." I do not, however, remember what the subject was on the occasion when Dr. Nuttall was a guest of honour, but what I do recollect was his face, which was a study when our members after coffee got out their cigarette cases and "lit up." He was, I am sure, somewhat amazed, and I guessed it was the first time he had seen anything of the kind before; out of deference to his very probable objection to women's smoking, I went without my usual cigarette. Another time he came to tea, and I showed him once—at least, so far as I could—our great Club House and he was most interested in hearing about all the work, intellectual and philanthropic, which the members carried on.

It was, I assure you, with the deepest sorrow that I heard of your dear Archbishop's passing, or shall I say, promotion? As I look back upon the happy days I spent in the West Indies I realize that his constant kindness and consideration, not to mention his occasional fatherly advice, contributed in no small degree to the delightful and never-to-be-forgotten experiences of mine in the beautiful island of Jamaica. I should miss his kindly smile sorely if ever my wandering steps took me back there. Indeed, I can imagine what a blank, what a loss to all of you in Jamaica, it must have been when God thought fit to take from earth this highly gifted, great-hearted man.

On the 19th the Archbishop presented to the Secretary of the "Church House" a copy of the special number of *Jamaica Churchman* for June, dealing with the reconstruction of the Jamaica churches, "it being thought worthy of being permanently kept in the library."

On the 25th he saw Sir Lewis Dibdin, Ecclesiastical Commissioner, concerning the Roman Decree *Ne Temere* and his pastoral letter for the West Indies as drafted to date. "He made some suggestions and concurred entirely."

On the 26th he went to the Colonial Office and asked that the Secretary of State for the Colonies should

consider the suggestion that it would save much trouble if the Government could privately persuade the Roman Catholic Authorities to withdraw the decree *Ne Temere* from operation in British countries, he stating that he would delay issue of the West Indian Pastoral till he learnt whether or not the British Government was going to do anything in the matter.

On the 1st of August he left in the *Carmania*, reaching New York on the 9th.

On landing in New York I was beset by reporters. If only one could rely on their stating correctly the substance of what you say, this would not be a serious matter. But their summaries especially make unpleasant reading in matters in which accuracy of statement is important.

He then spent some time with Dr. Dickinson at Westhampton. On the 14th of August:

In the afternoon drove in the motor with Mrs. Dickenson and daughters to the house and large property of Mrs. Nicoll Floyd, Floyd's Point. It was a sixteen-mile drive each way, and each journey was accomplished in about an hour. The road lay through typical Long Island villages and country. The day was fine and not too hot, and the drive pleasant. Dr. Dickenson had left early in the forenoon for a leisurely sail in his boat through the island bays to the same spot; the eldest daughter returned with him in the same way, and managed the sailing. Mrs. Floyd, the proprietor of the place, is a fine specimen of the cultured American ladies of a former generation, which is very manifest notwithstanding the infirmities of age. Evidently she and the Dickensons have long been intimate friends. The conversation and other things showed this. As the talk proceeded, she began to make enquiries about Jamaica, and asked if I knew the Musgraves, and then I learnt that she and Lady Musgrave had been close friends from girlhood. So we had an interesting conversation about them.

On the 19th he left on the *Trent*, reaching Kingston on the 24th.

His sympathy for the Wesleyans finds a record on the 8th of September:

Wesleyan visitors called on me at the Lodge at 2.45. They were Rev. Henry Haigh, President of the Wesleyan Conference, Rev. Dr. Moulton, Rev. W. Hodgson Smith, and Mr. Henry Bisseker. Later I went to Wesley House, Goodwin Park, to an

At Home in honour of these visitors, where I also saw Mrs. Haigh and Mrs. and Miss Hodgson Smith.

On the 12th of October he wrote:

At the close of the educational meeting I briefly stated the results of my reference to the five premier Bishops of England (Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Bishops of London, Winchester and Durham) what I had done in the matter of authorizing the use of St. George's Church by the Moravian Church authorities for a special service. There was complete concurrence in what I had done and said.

On the 21st of November he wrote:

To Mico College at 10 for a Conference with representatives of various Protestant religious bodies on various educational matters and more particularly on the way of improving religious teaching in elementary schools. This lasted till about 2.30. An understanding was arrived at on some principal points which may make united action feasible.

In referring to the death of Bishop Collins (of Gibraltar) he said:

An instance occurred of the remarkable circumstantial knowledge possessed by Bishop Collins of ecclesiastical history at a small private meeting in London in 1910, just when he had partially recovered from the severe illness which eventually, however, caused his death. There were several Bishops discussing a matter of importance on which they had to make a practical recommendation. Something turned on historical precedent. Bishop Collins was not able to use his voice, but he had small tablets of paper on which he could write, and which he could pass for others to read what he wished to say. All the other members had spoken on the subject except himself and myself. I then ventured to say that I could not agree with the opinions expressed, for, although I could not at the moment recall facts and dates, I was quite satisfied that in several periods of Church history long ago incidents had occurred which furnished the precedents needed to establish my view. While I was speaking Bishop Collins was writing, and as I sat down he passed on to me the paper on which he had written and which I read to the meeting. It contained dates and names of individuals, and of places where the facts occurred, substantiating what I had said, but which I could only refer to as an impression. He was thus able to recall, in a moment, details of transactions which occurred hundreds of years ago, the record of which was to be found in the

by-paths of history, and which he had had no time to look up, and which, when stated circumstantially, of course, shaped the opinion of the meeting accordingly.

At this time he drew up a summary report of the operations of the Jamaica Church Earthquake Relief Fund, May, 1911.

1. Now that the operations of the Jamaica Church Earthquake Relief Fund are nearing completion, and all the principal buildings except Harewood Church have been finished, I consider it advisable to publish, for the information of our English friends who have helped us so nobly, a brief statement showing what has been accomplished. It is not possible to give a list of the 3,000 contributors and over, who have remitted sums varying from 3d. in stamps to £15,000, the grant received from the Pan-Anglican Congress. Of the sum of £10,916 19s. collected by the Jamaica Church Aid Association, as much as £326 15s. 5d. represents interest earned, while the small amount of £204 0s. 9d. has been spent in Deputation and printing expenses, and the balance of £10,712 18s. 3d. has been remitted to Jamaica. It is worthy of note that the bulk of the contributions received through this Association was the result of direct written appeals to individuals; and to the Treasurer and Secretaries, and other members of the Committee, who have devoted so much labour of love to this work, we are thankful beyond what we can fitly and fully express.

2. The following is a brief statement of the receipts and payments in Jamaica:

I. Receipts.

	£	s.	d.
Pan-Anglican Congress	15,000	0	0
Jamaica Church Aid Association	10,712	18	3
S.P.C.K.	4,000	0	0
S.P.G.	200	0	0
Christian Faith Society	200	0	0
Various special contributions from England, including £300 from the Taylor Trustees	1,209	18	11
United States and Canada	1,619	12	9
Other West Indian Islands	435	17	7
Local contributions in Jamaica paid direct into this Fund, exclusive of amounts locally raised and locally expended in part payment for building operations	674	8	6
Interest and premium received in Jamaica	78	19	0
Total Receipts	34,131	15	0

II. Payments.

Of the above amount the sum of £1,122 1s. 2d. was raised partly as the result of various appeals in England and elsewhere on behalf of individual congregations, and was contributed for specific purposes. This sum has, therefore, been appropriated for the objects for which it was given. Thus, the net amount at my disposal has been £33,009 13s. 10d.

Out of the aforesaid sum of £33,009 13s. 10d. I have made payments as follows:

	£	s.	d.
Grants paid to date in aid of buildings -	26,645	4	9
Grants paid in aid of current accounts of Churches soon after the earthquake to help them to meet their obligations for stipends of clergy, which necessities were included in the original appeal - -	455	0	0
Deputation and travelling expenses of clergy sent abroad to appeal on behalf of the Fund, and other travelling expenses in Jamaica -	388	6	0
Paid for supervising the restoration of certain buildings, and also part payments to various other workers for services rendered -	674	13	10
Sundry payments for sketch plans to guide local workers in cases of small buildings, and small grants towards such work -	205	15	8
Balance reserved to meet contingencies and for grants to be paid when the congregations contribute their portion of existing obligations - - - -	4,639	13	7
Total -	33,009	13	10

On the 26th of January, 1912, he had an important interview with Bishop Collins.* First, concerning the working of the D'Espinose Trust, of which they were joint trustees. Secondly, they talked over the practical matters involved in the application of the *Ne Temere* decree to West Indian Communities.

I told him of our proposed pastoral to the clergy and members of our Communion in the West Indian Province. Also that I

* From 1907 till 1920, when he resigned, Bishop of Antiphellos and Vicar-Apostolic of Jamaica.

had after its completion kept it back chiefly in the hope that private discussions taking place would lead to its withdrawal from operation in the West Indies and other British countries. He said he was going to Rome for the required regular visit to the Pope in May of this year, and had determined there to plead for this action on the part of the Roman authorities. I said if (which he reaffirmed) he had determined on this action I would take the responsibility of keeping back our pastoral from publication until he could inform me from Rome of the success or otherwise of his endeavours in this matter.

On the 11th of February, in the afternoon, the Protestant section of the Chinese Burial Ground, Leader's Lane, was dedicated, at which an order of service adapted from that of the Consecration of Burial Grounds contained in the Book of Special Services for the Diocese was used. There was a great attendance of the Chinese community in and about Kingston, and also many friends; most of the clergy in Kingston and the neighbourhood were present. The Archbishop gave an address which included the ideas of care of burial-places and the reverent burial of the dead, Chinese social and religious ideas bearing on this matter and on their probable acceptance of Christianity, and showing the Christian completion of the best Chinese moral teaching: its revelations of a future life and of God in Christ Jesus.

At this time he wrote in reply to a request that he should stand sponsor to a clergyman's child:

I have often been asked to become a sponsor, and, except in two or three cases many years ago, which occurred when I was younger and under conditions in which I could hope to fulfil the principal duties of a sponsor, I have felt it necessary to decline. I have not liked, and still do not like, to become a party to helping to give the impression that the important office of sponsor in our Church is only a formality. If I could hope to live long enough to be of real use to your son, and to be where I could carry out a sponsor's duty in relation to him, I should respond to your request; but my course is nearly run. I am gratified, however, that you have asked me, because I trust that I can receive the request as a manifestation of that true spiritual unity and personal interest which should exist between us.

To a young clergyman who had run into debt by buying a buggy and horse, he wrote:

As a means of getting about to perform your duties, surely with your light weight you might have met the need by purchasing a small pony for a few pounds that you could even groom yourself if necessary so as to keep down expenses to the lowest point. At your age I did this for years.

On the 23rd of August he left in the *Thames* for New York, and went to Clifton Springs Sanitarium, where he benefited by the rest and treatment, returning to Jamaica on the 31st of October.

In the autumn the hurricane of November 17th to 18th put much extra anxiety and work on his shoulders, and the closing days of the year were much taken up with matters arising out of Bishop Joscelyne's resignation.

In the early days of 1913, besides the usual routine work, he took part in various public farewell functions to Sir Sydney Olivier on his demission of office as Governor, at a dinner given by the Jamaica Club, and at another given by the Civil Servants of the colony.

In his address to Synod in 1913 he paid a tribute to Archdeacon Downer, an old friend and fellow-worker. In it he said:

He was a son of Jamaica. His service in the Jamaica Church was a lengthened one. He was ordained deacon in 1860 and priest in 1861. For a brief period he was curate of Stewart Town and then of Spanish Town, and in 1863 he became Island Curate of St. Gabriel's, Lime Savannah, Clarendon, where he spent ten years. In 1873 he was called to be rector of the Parish Church, Kingston, in succession to the Ven. Archdeacon Campbell, then transferred to St. Andrew's Parish Church.

In 1906 Mr. Downer became Archdeacon of Surrey, having been acting Archdeacon for several years previously. At the end of 1908 he retired from the Rectorship of the Kingston Parish Church, to which he had devoted thirty-five years of his life, and took up the lighter responsibilities of St. Joseph's Church, the Grove, St. Andrew. He was buried in the graveyard of that church amid the beautiful surroundings which he loved, and beside the grave of Mrs. Downer, who died in 1909.

The main work of the Archdeacon's life was done as rector of the Parish Church, Kingston. His labours were manifold. His

greatest strength lay in pastoral work and personal influence, but he was also a ready and effective speaker and preacher. To me he was a loving friend, and a loyal helper in dealing with difficult matters of Diocesan administration. His geniality of spirit and manner endeared him to the members of his flock, and to multitudes of other people with whom he came in contact. His Churchmanship was of a decided type. He was always a genuinely earnest religious man, and the deeper things of religion engrossed his thoughts more and more as the closing years of his life followed each other.

The earthquake of 1907 completely shattered the church on which Archdeacon Downer has spent so much care and effort, and at a time when he had nearly finished providing for the cost involved in its enlargement many years before. He bore up with cheerfulness under the great blow involved in this destruction. Happily, he was spared to become the preacher at the opening service in 1910, and to be present at the Consecration in 1911. The necessary funds are being provided for the erection in his memory of a window in the chancel of the Parish Church, Kingston.

On the 27th of February the Archbishop went to the wharf to say good-bye to Bishop and Mrs. Joscelyne, who left by the Elders and Fyffes' steamer *Aracataca* for England.

At this time the Archbishop gave serious attention to the appointment of an Assistant Bishop, and issued to the members of his Diocesan Council a confidential letter, in which he gave the following qualifications desired in the Assistant Bishop:

(i.) A good physical constitution (though none can foresee when and how the best constitution may give way); (ii.) Spiritual qualities of a real and impressive kind; (iii.) Sound Prayer Book Churchmanship; (iv.) Preaching power, though not necessarily eloquence; (v.) Mental attainments which would enable him to stand abreast (if not in advance) of chief men in the various religious denominations in the island; (vi.) Aptitude for the business part of the office, and a willingness and desire to become fully acquainted with and to share in the practical administrative work of the Diocese; (vii.) Possibility of growing into fitness for the post of Bishop of the Diocese; (viii.) Age to allow of these qualities taking practical effect. This would seem to require that the person appointed should not be over forty-five years of age.

On March 24th, Captain Aubrey Smith of H.M.S. *Cumberland*, in which H.R.H. Prince Albert was among the cadets, called at Bishop's Lodge.

Among other things I represented my views as to letting the people generally have an opportunity in a simple unofficial way of seeing the Prince. I had already spoken to the Governor and he concurred with me. The Captain has heard both the Governor's view and mine, which are identical, and which will not conflict with the general regulations for the Prince avoiding special functions in his honour and addresses.

On the 29th he went on board H.M.S. *Cumberland*, at 11.45, to lunch with Captain Aubrey Smith and Prince Albert. The Captain wanted the Archbishop to have a little quiet talk with the Prince, which was secured by the arrangements.

The Prince showed a quiet, natural manner. I was glad to find that while somewhat reserved he could enter freely into personal talk about his work—his life on board the ship and his experiences. He seemed to remember well coming with his brother, Prince Edward, and their tutor to see me at the Vestry of the Chapel Royal and hear about the Jamaica earthquake.

On the 22nd of May the Archbishop sailed on the *Patia* for England, arriving there on the 4th of June, and going as usual straight to 24, Belsize Park.

The months of June to September, 1913, were spent in England, where he attended to many matters concerning Jamaica, from the appointment of an Assistant Bishop and a Warden for the College, to discussing with the Secretary of State for the Colonies the proposed American tax on bananas. Pressure of work compelled him to decline the proposal that he should head a deputation from Jamaica to Washington in connection with the matter, but he interviewed in this connection the Secretary of State for the Colonies and four chief officials at the Colonial Office and two principal officials at the Foreign Office.

Other work included that of the Central Consultative Body at Lambeth Palace; a proposal for the promotion of the work of the Church of England Men's Society in

Jamaica (which he feared might clash with that of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew); the production of a new edition of Ellis's "History of the Church of England in Jamaica"; Insurance of Church property; the affairs of the Diocese of British Honduras; the selection of a head-master for Manning's School; a visit for the purpose of health to Llandrindod Wells; Intercommunion with the Moravian Church; and the usual banquets and At Homes to Archbishops and Bishops.

On the 16th of June he records: "To St. Peter's Church at 11, for Dr. Tremlett's funeral."

After an interview on the 19th of June with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of St. Albans, and Canon Pearce, the Archbishop nominated the Rev. George Frederic Cecil de Carteret as Assistant Bishop of Jamaica, and he was unanimously elected at the special Synod held in Jamaica on the 15th of July.

In June he paid his usual visit to Oriel College, Oxford, in connection with the Jamaica Church Aid Association, and as usual preached at St. Mary the Virgin.

On the 26th of July he went to the Royalty Theatre to see the play *Milestones*.

It was a simple, very well done thing in illustration of three generations of English life. It confirmed me in these opinions I have long held: (i.) What a lesson theatrical people teach us clergy as to care and labour and precision in presenting the various things they have to impress upon their audiences; (ii.) That human nature and the facts of human life interest all sorts of people more than anything else; (iii.) That the more truly human in fact, and the more simple in form clerical teachings are, the more likely they are to touch human minds and hearts.

He reached Jamaica on his homeward journey on the 17th of October. On the 8th of November he went to a reception and gymkhana at Camp to meet the officers of the *New Zealand*, as well as the military people.

Stayed for a part of the first gymkhana event, which was a curious arrangement for four horses at a time jumping over two obstacles and back, the return journey being cumbered with dress of ladies' skirts and hats. After having done my duty and seen this one event, which I should think, from the point of view of

real interest, was as good as waiting to see more of the same sort I came away for business which was specially awaiting me at the Lodge.

During this month he interested himself in seeing that provision was made for the due censorship by religious leaders of films to be shown at moving picture shows. In December he entertained at the Lodge Bishop Taylor-Smith, Chaplain-General of the Forces, who was touring the West Indies, but he himself was indisposed at the time.

The opening of 1914 found the Archbishop still fighting against indisposition, having to forgo, much against his inclination, some engagements. He was only able to pay a short visit to Synod. He was helped over from the neighbouring rectory by the rector of St. George's. On entering the Synod Hall, all the members rose and, with one accord, burst into singing the Doxology.

From this time onward there is an absence in his journal of the glimpses of humour which now and then illuminated it, and a sense of depression pervades many of the entries. At this time he said in a letter to his wife:

> None of us know what the future has in store for us; but it is a good thing to remember that if in what we do we follow Divine Guidance, and submit cheerfully to the Divine Will, all will be well. This, however, does not exclude the necessity for using our own common sense in the ordering of our life. I may have been neglecting this, or I may have been following the inevitable demands on time and strength which God's Providence has required me to meet. I have been planning and working towards the steady devolving upon others of many parts of my work; I thought I had reached the point when this was being gradually accomplished, without dislocation of any part of the work. This illness has come in opportunely (no doubt) and added the imperative word "must." . . .

In the journal of the forty-fourth Synod is the following:

> *Ne Temere Decree.*—I have circulated among the clergy and official laymen the letter of our Provincial Synod setting forth

the mode of action which we are advised to adopt in reference to any proceedings resulting from the enforcement in the West Indian Province of the Roman decree *Ne Temere*.

From it the following is abstracted:

In view of difficulties and anxieties which have been brought to our notice, we feel it our duty to write this letter to you in reference to the recent action of the Roman Catholic Church in regard to marriages between Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics. This action includes the issuing of the decree *Ne Temere*, and the methods adopted to give effect thereto. . . .

4. While a Christian community such as the Roman Church can issue such regulations as it thinks fit for the guidance and control of the action of its own members, nevertheless the Roman Catholic Church has not the moral right to take such action as is intended to produce in the minds of individuals or of the public generally the conviction that a marriage conducted by the Minister of some other Christian community and in accordance with the laws of the State, is null and void because it has not been celebrated by a Roman Catholic priest. Although such teachings and representations of the Roman Church do not alter the fact that such marriages are Christian and valid, it is nevertheless the duty of members of the Church of England and other non-Roman communities to resist any such unlawful interference with regard to their marriages.

5. It is, moreover, abundantly clear that mixed marriages between members of the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church, or between the members of various Protestant communities and members of the Roman Church, involve probabilities of dissension in the vital matters of religion and other things affecting the welfare of the family; and such marriages should therefore be avoided. . . .

7. There can be no doubt that the action now being taken by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church is wrong, and is not based on Holy Scripture, or on the claims made and the action taken by the Church of Christ in the early periods of its history; and the fact that Germany has been exempted from the operation of the new regulations because they are resented by members of the Roman Catholic Church as well as by Protestants, makes manifest the arbitrary and unjustifiable attitude assumed by the Roman Church in this matter. Unions in marriage effected in a particular way cannot be sinful and wrong in England and the West Indies, and right and justifiable in Germany. . . .

9. We are not without hope that wiser counsels will prevail before long, and that the authorities of the Roman Catholic

Church will withdraw the recent decree from operation in the British communities of the world as they have kept it inoperative in Germany.

E. Jamaica, Archbishop of the West Indies.
W. P. Barbados and Windward Islands.
Edward A. Guiana.
W. B. Nassau.
J. F. Trinidad.
H. British Honduras.
E. Antigua.
A. E. Joscelyne, Coadjutor of Jamaica.

The Archbishop left Jamaica on the 29th of May, reaching New York on June 3rd, and paid as usual a visit to Dr. Dickinson. Of his visits to New York, Mrs. Dickinson has contributed the following notes:

Your enquiry as to what help we can give you with regard to the visits of the Archbishop to America cannot result in statements of great value, because he either was at the Sanatorium in Clifton Springs, New York, for his health, or attending such an occasion as the laying of the corner-stone of the Cathedral in Washington, D.C., or the Pan-American Congress of Bishops in Richmond, Virginia, or else just pausing at our home in Brooklyn, in transit from Jamaica to England, or back again.

He would refuse functions to be arranged in his honour, preferring the respite of a quiet home, which he considered as one of his own. His duties in America were in connection with Bishop Grosvenor and with Bishop Greer—both now deceased—who were in turn his Commissaries for Jamaica and the West Indies.

His chief subject of concern was the responsibility he desired the American Church to take in the administration of Panama and Honduras. He would sometimes receive calls from former parishioners, now resident in New York, both white and negro.

His conversation, while sometimes revealing the great interests that had occupied him in England, were usually confined to questions and comments upon the political and national interest of the day; and he was too truly a statesman to put in writing in his letters matters that might involve issues of importance, but rather filled his correspondence with the current interests of our family, where he was much beloved by the three generations that composed it. We all were eager to serve him in all such services

as were involved in his arrivals and departures, his letters, telegrams, and telephones. While he in turn was a blessing in the household, where from grandfather to least child or servant all were delighted to do him honour, while feeling warm personal affection. It was an education to our children to share in this interest; yet were they not afraid of him, so full of humour and kind was he. We always saved to read to him stories peculiarly American in dialect or setting, and his hearty laughter we remember with pleasure.

So of the home, so little of state matters, there is not much I can add to a biography, other than to express this beautiful phase of his character and personality, he, whom the Archbishop of Canterbury called " that Great Statesman."

On his visit to England his medical adviser, after an interview, recommended him to cut down his work to one-third of its former volume, advice which those who knew him knew he was not likely to follow. In June he paid his usual visit to Oxford in connection with the Church Aid Association, but did not stay the night.

He attended meetings of the Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference (which sat for four days) held especially with reference to the Kikuyu controversy, to which he had been strongly invited by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This was one of the last occasions on which he was able to render valued advice at Lambeth Palace.

In July he went for rest to Crowborough for a fortnight, but indulged in a good deal of correspondence.

August and September were spent at Chagford, where he was able to take constant walks and enjoyed the scenery. On the 5th of August he wrote:

This day marks the officially announced commencement of our active participation in the great European War in which most European States are gradually being involved. Great Britain has done her best to prevent this war, and failing that to minimize it. Her honour, her interests, and the welfare of Europe, our Oversea Dominions and of the world, render necessary and righteously inevitable our taking our share in this great conflict. May the Almighty overrule the progress and the results of the war for the ultimate benefit of the nations immediately concerned and of mankind!

On the 31st of October he, accompanied by Bishop de Carteret, who had also visited England, left Liverpool, in the *St. Paul*, arriving at New York on the 7th of November, staying as usual with Dr. Dickinson. On the 11th they left in the *Zacapa*, reaching Kingston on the 16th.

In December the quiet of Bishop's Lodge was broken by a burglar, who murdered the gardener of the Theological College; the Archbishop was at Belmont at the time.

On the 26th of January, 1915, he wrote:

Received numerous letters and messages congratulating me on reaching my 73rd birthday. I am very thankful for all the mercies of the year, and such a restoration of health and strength as enables me to do as much work as is reasonable to expect at my age.

In his address to the Synod he said:

The Archbishop of Canterbury requested the advice of the Consultative Body on certain questions (arising out of the Kikuyu Conference) which he fully stated. These were replied to after careful discussion. The Archbishop was intending to issue his decision thereupon as Metropolitan, to which the report of the Consultative Body would be appended, when the war broke out, and necessitated his deciding to delay such issue. These documents will no doubt be published at the earliest fitting opportunity. I cannot suppose that they will meet with universal approval, though I shall expect that when all the circumstances are taken into account, thoughtful and well-informed people of every grade of English Churchmanship, and Nonconformists of like types, will appreciate what has been declared and done as aiding in a conservative and progressive way towards the realization of that larger unity of Christian people which multitudes are longing for, but which in the process of its accomplishment will probably at each important stage of advance create some misunderstandings and unnecessary antagonisms, which, however, will quickly pass away.

On the 30th of March he preached his last sermon at Halfway Tree, but for some of his remaining Sundays he attended the early Communion Service, the last occasion being the 7th of May.

On Good Friday he gave two addresses at St. George's Church: "There was an immense congregation, com-

posed of about equal numbers of men and women, in all the shady places outside the church."

On Easter Day he preached his last Easter Sermon at the Kingston Parish Church.

In April the state of his health gave him renewed trouble, and in the summer he spent two months in the cooler climate of Mandeville, at Battersea Cottage, but the rest gave but temporary relief. Even then he took his typist with him. Rain often kept him a prisoner in the house.

On the 3rd of January, 1916, he, for the last time, preached the usual sermon at St. George's on the first Sunday of the year.

On the 8th of February he gave his last address to Synod; he reading the first and last paragraphs, the Assistant Bishop reading the remainder. In this address, which included a report from the Assistant Bishop, the Archbishop said: "I thank God that at a time when I was not able to do much public work he accomplished so much."

On the 23rd of February he gave the valedictory address at the Kingston Parish Church to the War Contingent shortly to leave. This was his last appearance in the pulpit.

Many years of unceasing labour told on his health, which, in spite of his massive frame, had never been robust. For years he had performed much work with difficulty, but without hesitation.

He paid his last visit to Stony Hill on the 2nd of May. He had preached his last sermon at St. Jude's there, on the 5th of the preceding December.

The last letter signed by him in his letter-book is one dated the 16th of May, 1916, to the late Sir Henry Blake, a former Governor of Jamaica. It ran:

> It was a great pleasure to me to receive your letter of the 18th March, 1916, having principal reference to the jubilee of my Ordination to the Ministry of the Church of England in Jamaica. Fifty years of service is a long time. I am aware that the personal and public appreciation of what I have done in that period is

ERECTED BY THE DIOCESE OF JAMAICA IN MEMORY OF
ENOS NUTTALL DD LLD DCL BORN 1842 DIED 1916
BISHOP OF JAMAICA PRIMATE AND FIRST
ARCHBISHOP OF THE WEST INDIES.
HIS LIFE WAS DEVOTED TO THE GLORY OF GOD
IN THE SERVICE OF JAMAICA.

MONUMENT

THE CATHEDRAL, SPANISH-TOWN

greater than is warranted by an accurate judgment of the facts, but I value nevertheless the kindly and generous feelings manifested. I have tried to do my duty. . . .

Since you wrote we have fallen on still more evil times by reason of the outbreak of the Irish revolt. As far as I can judge the actual state of Ireland would not have been convincingly disclosed without it. It is much better that this disclosure with its attendant bloodshed should take place during the progress of the war, while we are accustomed to such things, than for another beginning of turmoil to have to take place later.

I am glad to think of you and Lady Blake having formed one of the bands which for a long time have been associated with the late Lord Roberts in endeavouring to keep the real facts concerning Ireland before the British public, as well as those affecting the Continent. I have a keen and grateful recognition of all your hearty efforts for the benefit of this island.

After a few weeks of more acute suffering he died at Bishop's Lodge on the morning of the 31st of May. On the following day, after a lying-in-state of five hours' duration at St. George's, and a service at the Parish Church, Kingston, he was buried in the churchyard of the parish church of St. Andrew at Halfway Tree, near the place where he had laid his second child, a daughter, in 1870, in a "quiet, beautiful spot," in, to use his own words, "the sweetest and most English-looking graveyard in Jamaica." The funeral, semi-official in its arrangement, accompanied by a military band, was the largest gathering of the kind ever seen in Jamaica, his body being followed to the grave by all classes of the community, civil and military, and all branches of religion, from the Governor and the General Officer commanding the forces downwards. The concourse of mourners was both spontaneous and genuine. The orderly conduct of the crowd which watched the procession was exemplary. The shops in Kingston were closed at noon, flags were half-masted, church bells were tolled throughout the day, and the street cars were stopped. People from all over the island came to pay respect to the memory of the great man.

He left by his will £100 towards the endowment

of a scholarship at the Jamaica Church Theological College, to which he bequeathed his library.

The members of the Church of England in Jamaica decided to commemorate his long Episcopate and his Imperial services, by raising a fund for augmenting the endowment of the Bishopric—that is, the provision of a capital sum sufficient to produce the present Episcopal stipend in perpetuity—and by establishing an Industrial Home for destitute children. Up to June, 1921, this fund had reached the total of £2,265, £1,715 having been subscribed in Jamaica, and £550 in England. The Industrial Home did not materialize, but the sum of £1,531 was handed over to the Archbishop Nuttall Nursing Home, which is shortly to be removed from its original site in East Street, Kingston, to new premises to be erected at Newington, next door to Bishop's Lodge.

In May, 1920, wrought iron gates erected in the Cathedral were dedicated to the memory of the Archbishop. In November the memorial, with a bust of the Archbishop executed by Mr. Albert Toft, was dedicated on the south wall of the nave of the Cathedral; and in September, 1921, a grey and red granite altar-tomb was placed over his remains in Halfway Tree churchyard.

CHAPTER IX

REMINISCENCES

FULL of deep sympathy where sympathy was deserved, patient under difficulties, hopeful in times of trouble, the Archbishop was above all wise in counsel, and his advice was sought by rich and poor, not only in his own Church, but by those of other denominations. Successive Governors of Jamaica profited by his advice, and in England, both at the Colonial Office and in commercial circles, his judgment was highly valued; in Church conferences and by Church dignitaries his experience was held in high esteem for his sound judgment and wide experience of colonial life. He had the fullest confidence of four successive Archbishops of Canterbury. Not unfrequently his statesmanlike way of dealing with difficult problems made one feel that he would have been an ideal Governor for the colony.

His sermons were prepared solely with a view to the message they had to convey, and were not based on any desire for rhetorical or literary effect. He held that the truth simply told had its effect, whether addressed to Oxford dons from St. Mary's pulpit or to a rural congregation in Jamaica from the shade of a giant cotton-tree. And the same was the case with his published writings. His clearness of diction was remarkable.

In writing to a correspondent who asked his criticism on a paper he said:

> If I had time (which I have not) to be able to offer you the help you desire in revising the paper for the press, I should still not know how to help you. You cultivate the flowers of rhetoric; I am a plain man, who have to speak and write so often when I

would rather be silent, that I have increased and strengthened the habit of saying what I have to say in the most direct and simple language. . . .

It is said that all work and no play makes for dulness. This was not the case with the Archbishop: a sense of humour was often to be seen in his eye even when the debate remained serious. When all allowance is made for the nature of his calling and a possible personal indifference for such matters, he was remarkable for the self-denial with which he abstained from all forms of recreation. And yet he was ever ready to sympathize in the desire for recreation in others, and did all that he possibly could to make it easy for his clergy to take leave at reasonable periods, feeling that a thorough change of surroundings could not but have a good influence. Music was the only one of the fine arts that strongly appealed to him, and yet he indulged in this but rarely. On his very rare visits to the theatre he was much influenced by the great care bestowed by actors on the preparation of their work. He refused, however, the offer of the proceeds of a theatrical performance in aid of a Church institution.

He was ever profoundly of the opinion that if one wants a thing well done one must do it oneself. In fact, he carried the idea to excess, and often occupied his time on matters which he might well have left to others. All his letters, and even receipts, dealing with the most trivial matters were carefully docketed and preserved.

Never sparing himself labour, he yet realized that it was best to utilize his time to the best advantage. He once wrote to a brother Bishop:

> I have had this letter typewritten for the reasons: (1) Because I should have had to postpone the writing to an indefinite period if I did not avail myself of this facility; (2) because I want to impress upon you once more my good example. I do wish you would reduce your own labours by resorting to the same assistance continually.

His perseverance was remarkable: he never gave in to difficulties which to many men would have seemed

insuperable. He once wrote to a friend: "The only way in Jamaica is to stick to things. The chance of doing some good does come in the end to him who waits."

As a chairman of meetings he had no equal in Jamaica. He let everyone express his opinion—even at times suffering fools gladly—but kept a quiet control over a debate, and usually closed it with a well-reasoned *résumé*, and succeeded in persuading those in opposition that their views were in accord with his own. Gifted with a marvellous power of remembering details, he often knew more of what had transpired at a meeting held weeks previously than any one else present. He possessed that capacity for taking infinite pains which Disraeli said amounted to genius. His punctuality was a standing example to all who came in contact with him. The Yorkshire caution which underlay all that he did never obtruded itself unduly. Once convinced that action should be taken, he brushed aside objections and opposition. The statesmanlike qualities which were evident were apt, in the case of those who did not know him well, to overshadow the simple piety which ruled his life.

No one ever acted better than he up to Apelles' motto—*Nulla dies sine linea;* and the amount of work which he sometimes managed to crowd into his working hours was remarkable.

His was a remarkable personality, possessing charity, disregard of wealth and power for their own sake, and perseverance under discouragement. He was a great organizer, an untiring and methodical worker.

In writing to the Bishop of Antigua in 1893, he said: "My rule of life has been to seek nothing for myself, and to shirk no responsibility, however undesirable, which by the plain and clear indication of Divine Providence I am called to assume."

He took little interest in party politics, but he was a keen Imperialist, and he described himself to an American friend as "an ardent Anglo-American Alliance advocate, and a believer in the destiny of the Anglo-Saxon race."

Sir George Arthur, in his Life of Lord Kitchener, said of him:

> Kitchener's private as his public life offered some curious contrasts. Although he disliked most social engagements, he still more disliked being entirely alone, and was only really happy within a strictly limited circle of intimates. A crowd of whatever calibre was distasteful to him; solitude even more so. The desire for some one near at hand had a very practical motive. Wholly self-reliant in great things, he was in the small circumstances of his own domestic life curiously dependent on others.

This applies with equal truth to the Archbishop.

In the Life of Bishop Rawle* we read:

> In bringing to a close the narrative of Principal Rawle's work at Codrington College, Barbados, it would be difficult to overestimate the value of his services to the Church and to education. One may fairly say: "Si monumentum quæris circumspice." Whether we look at the state of the Church and the clergy in the West Indies; whether we glance at the West African Mission movement; or whether we consider the state of education generally in Barbados—from the College down to the primary schools, to which he gave so much gratuitous labour—the influence of the master-hand can be distinctly traced everywhere; and it is impossible, on this side of the grave, to gauge accurately the extent of his influence.

With the single change of Jamaica for Barbados, this is essentially true of Archbishop Nuttall.

His best epitaph is perhaps to be found in the cablegram sent by the Archbishop of Canterbury on receipt of the news of his death: "Thanksgiving for a life of noble service."

Memorial services were held, on the Sunday following the funeral, throughout the Diocese by all denominations. Resolutions were passed by numerous bodies, educational boards, parochial boards, agricultural societies, and teachers' associations in Jamaica, and many messages of condolence were received from England and America.

At the special Synod held in August, 1916, to elect his successor it was unanimously resolved—

* "Bishop Rawle: A Memoir." By his executors, George Mather, M.A., and Charles John Blagg, London, 1890.

That this Synod of the Church of England in Jamaica, now assembled in special Session for the election of a Bishop to fill the See now reported vacant by the death of the Most Rev. Enos Nuttall, D.D., Lord Bishop of Jamaica and Archbishop of the West Indies, hereby places on record the great loss which the Church of England in Jamaica in particular and the whole Anglican Communion in general, has sustained by the death of our late beloved Bishop who, for fifty years, was associated with this Diocese as an ordained Minister thereof, and for the past thirty-five years has directed the affairs of the Diocese as Lord Bishop, and for nearly twenty-three years has presided over the Province of the West Indies as Primate and Archbishop, with such marked ability and success in each as to ensure the stability of our Church in this island and throughout the West Indies, and win for himself the love, esteem, and respect, of all whose privilege it was to be associated with him in the various duties of his exalted and important office, as well as of the people and congregations of our Church and other religious denominations. His work will remain for ages a monument of the success of his administration, while the sense of his loss will be long felt by us. We pray that the blessing of Almighty God may rest upon His Church in this island, and upon him who is this day to be elected as the successor of our late beloved Bishop; and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Mrs. Nuttall, with expressions of the deep sympathy of the members of this Synod with her and the other members of His Grace's family in their grief.

On the 13th of June the Jamaica Schools Commission passed the following resolution:

That the Schools Commission, in expressing its deep sense of the loss that it has incurred by the death of its late Chairman, the Archbishop of the West Indies, desires to place on record its feeling of the great value of the services to Secondary Education which has been rendered by the late Archbishop as Chairman of the Commission. It is needless to speak of his services in other directions which are receiving such universal recognition; but the Archbishop was made a member of the Commission in September, 1881, and was appointed Chairman in August, 1883. During the thirty-five years since that date he has unstintingly devoted time and his great experience to the work of the Commission and has taken a leading part in the reorganization of Secondary Schools and Secondary Education which has been made during that period. His zeal, his ability, and his grasp of the work, have won the admiration of every member of the Commission, as his courtesy, kindliness, and readiness to seek and take advice have won their

affection. And the Commission feels that the value of leadership will long be remembered and the loss of it regretted in connection with the work of the Commission.

On the 25th of July the Board of Education passed a resolution, of which the following is part:

He exerted great influence and was an acknowledged leader in all the deliberations of the Board. The qualities with which his mind was adorned were such as to make his contribution to the discussions of such a Board as this particularly valuable.

The simplicity of his goodness sought the welfare of the community and never the advancement of a section to the detriment of the whole. The breadth of his sympathy enabled him to see the standpoint of others not only as soon as they stated it, but often before they did so. In his lowliness of heart he was as ready to adopt the suggestions of others that appeared to him wise as he was capable of thinking out his own, and was then as ready to be a follower as he was able to be a leader.

In discussion he was keen to recognize common elements in proposals that seemed to conflict, to eliminate the non-essential, and to select the helpful. There was fulfilled in him the old Biblical promise that the meek should be guided in judgment.

The ideal and the practical were ever before him in one view. He never allowed the actual, however painful or disappointing it might be, to hide the ideal, but the brightness of his ideal never blinded him, and he was not deceived concerning the limitations of the possible.

The Board of Directors of Shortwood College, at a meeting held on the 14th of June, 1916, resolved—

This Board desires to place on record its regret at the almost irreparable loss it has sustained at the death of its Chairman. It was due to his efforts that this Board for the supervision of the training of young women teachers to meet the requirements of the elementary schools in the island was inaugurated in the year 1899.* Since then Archbishop Nuttall has been its Chairman, and was indefatigable in his efforts to improve the condition of the College and advance its interests. Through his efforts this Board is not only administrative, but possessed of executive power, and because of this it could inaugurate new schemes for the good

* Shortwood Training College was established by the Government in 1885, and Bishop Nuttall was appointed Chairman. The college was in 1899, at a time of financial depression, handed over by the Government to a Board of Directors.

of the pupils and give to the country teachers well trained in the different branches of knowledge.

And at a meeting of the Board held two months later, it was agreed that a free scholarship, known as the "Nuttall Scholarship," should be granted each year, tenable for one year, to a student so as to perpetuate the memory of the Archbishop.

On the 20th of June the Congregational Union of Jamaica passed the following resolution, which said:

Dr. Nuttall's personality, presence, and work have been, for more than a generation, one of the island's chief assets.

This Committee would express and record its high appreciation of the eminently Christian character, sagacious leadership, and broad sympathies which distinguished his Grace in so large a measure and which explain the fact that not only to the members of his family, and to the Church which he served with such consummate ability and devotion, but to the entire island—his removal has brought a great sorrow and a great impoverishment.

In a resolution, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel said of him:

He was a great man, great as a statesman as well as a Churchman. The British Government knew his worth and honoured him by imposing upon him the heaviest and most difficult tasks. The people of Jamaica recognized his worth from the first, and manifested their trust in him by sending the Archbishop as their accredited representative to the Coronation of King George V. But among all his labours probably none merits the gratitude of both Church and State more fully than the manner in which he was foremost in eliminating from the West Indies what elsewhere has been called racial antipathy. Nowhere in the world has the problem of races of many kinds living together in peace and unity been so happily solved as in the West Indies, and chief among the agents of this happy consummation has been the late Archbishop Nuttall.

A "Tribute of Appreciation" by Bishop Bury, was contributed to *The Treasury* of November, 1916. From it the following extracts are taken:

It is a great happiness to me to have this opportunity of writing a few pages in this magazine in sincere appreciation of one of whom I shall always think as the most truly Catholic-minded Prelate it has ever been my joy and privilege to know. . . . Few

can feel that they owe more to his wisdom, strength, spiritual power, love, and humble simplicity, than I do, and I shall ever thank God for having had his friendship, counsel, sympathy, and leadership. . . . He used to speak to me sometimes of God's leading His people in the Wilderness—" round about a little " he called it—before bringing them into the promised land, and I used to think he was thinking of his own experiences. It was in that way he cheered me; also when I was much exercised in mind as to undertaking work in Europe after but a short time in the other hemisphere. " Don't doubt; it's God's will for you," he would say. " He often leads His servants round about, as He did his people in the Wilderness, but in the end He gets them where He wants them to be !" . . . To him there was nothing secular as distinguished from the spiritual. There was a spiritual aspect for him in every duty in life, just as there was also the physical to take into consideration in trying to grasp the significance and purpose of any spiritual experience. He would have been one of the last men in the world to think it possible to care for the souls of men without feeling any interest in their bodily health or well-being. On the contrary, he held with St. Paul that we are meant to glorify God in our " body and our spirit, which are God's," and that our body is as much the temple of the Holy Ghost as our soul is the abode of that same indwelling Christ. His Episcopate from first to last, therefore, as we should expect, was marked by great social activities, and by the keenest interest in everything which concerned the conditions of life for the people of Jamaica, and, side by side with the estimation in which he was increasingly held as one of the most spiritually-minded of God's servants, grew up his reputation as a first-rate business man, and gradually as more opportunities were offered him, that of being " the leading statesman of the West Indies."

As one reflects on these three sides of a great Episcopate, one realizes again, as in St. Paul's Apostolate, how complete must have been the consecration of all his powers and gifts to God, and how fully he realized that everything he had, and was, were to be given up to His service. His, I am sure, as I recall many conversations with him and journeys together, was the full acceptance of St. Peter's vision, and the realizing to the full that for the servant of Christ, in all the experiences of human life and in all our human powers and their exercise, there is nothing which is to be excluded from our conscious religious life. " Nothing common or unclean. . . ." It was his simplicity which seemed to enable him by an unerring instinct to grasp just that which others felt at once to be " the obvious thing," and yet which somehow they had not thought of, and probably would not have done; and it was his

greatness which enabled him to carry it through, no matter what difficulties were in the way or whatever opposition had to be encountered. He always felt that if a thing were right to do, and one of which we could feel that God would like it done, there must be a way of doing it; just as he has told me more than once with deep conviction, that truly Christian men if they have to encounter a difficulty together must be able to find some way of doing it to their mutual help and satisfaction. He would, therefore, never worry if he did not succeed in bringing a thing through to his own satisfaction or if a new trouble or difficulty came just as he was struggling out of a similar experience before. It was all in God's hands, he felt, and all that concerns us is to feel that we are honestly trying our best to do His Will.

It was this serene confidence in his own wish to do God's Will that led him, if he clearly could not get what he wanted, to try for the next best, provided it was good as far as it went, which determined his attitude towards the religious side of education. . . . He was absolutely incapable of a narrow, prejudiced view or of even an approach to party or sectarian spirit. His love for his own Church, his loyalty to its Constitution and great traditions, his deep-seated convictions and confidence as he thought of its future, and his grateful and devoted use of its Sacraments and Means of Grace made his whole heart go out towards those of other beliefs who, as he could not but believe, had lesser privileges than those he so appreciatively enjoyed himself. It is always, however, as a great Archbishop, a great Churchman, a great spiritual leader for the Anglican Communion, that we who loved him shall always chiefly have him gratefully in mind. . . .

In *Catholic Opinion** published in Kingston in July, 1916, the following appreciation of the Archbishop appeared:

The death, on the 31st of May, of the Most Rev. Enos Nuttall, the Anglican Archbishop of the West Indies, has been the occasion on all sides of deserved tributes to the sincerity and genius of the deceased Prelate. A half-century of labour in Jamaica has made his name a part of our island history, and few indeed, if any, have ever succeeded so well with us in bringing about great public good through the exercise of enlightened civic activity. His power of organization was wonderful, and was demonstrated not only within the comparatively narrow bounds of Anglicanism, which owes what it is to-day almost entirely to his prudent and urging guidance, but also in the larger circle of the general life of the

* The organ of the Roman Catholic body in Jamaica.

community, which in times of need looked naturally to him for the help of his wise counsel and wise action, and was not disappointed in its wise confidence. What we would have done without him at the time of the earthquake we do not like to think. Even towards the last, when age and disease had united in their attacks upon him, he strove his best over and over again to fight them off with the will to do yet what he with his large gifts and his large heart had always done enthusiastically for the land and the people of his adoption. Distant, indeed, is the day when Jamaica shall forget its big debt for services rendered by Archbishop Nuttall, and when that day comes—if it ever comes—gratitude shall have fled disgusted from our island home.

On the death of the late Archbishop of the West Indies, the Mico Directors decided that a suitable memorial, a portrait executed in opus sectile, should be erected to him in the entrance hall of the College.

The ceremony of unveiling took place on the 9th of December, 1919, in the presence of the Directors, staff and students of the College, and a small but representative gathering of those who had been intimately connected with the work of Archbishop Nuttall.

Colonel Hicks, the oldest member of the Board of Directors, in course of a long address, said:

. . . For a few years, indeed, while my residence was in Kingston, I was in close association with him, mainly in dealing with Mico interests; but for the last thirty years of his life, my residence being in a distant parish, my intercourse with him did not extend much beyond meeting him on official Boards. . . .

Shortly after Enos Nuttall entered upon work in Kingston as preacher and pastor, he became a member of the Board of Visitors of this Institution. It was not long before his fellow-Visitors, having weighed the young man, selected him to be their Chairman. They admired him, reposed confidence in him, welcomed his leadership as a man of wide vision, high ideals, earnest purposes, practical wisdom and energy. He had among his associates those whose hopes were high, who were zealous in their efforts; but his was the sober judgment which restrained impulsiveness without destroying zeal. At that time the state of the Mico was unsatisfactory. The Visitors could do little, having, it is true, influence, but very little power. The Chairman saw the need and the remedy, and his first great step for the uplift of the

Mico, upon which hinged further movements of progress, was to assist in transforming the Board of Visitors into the Board of Directors. When the Trustees appointed the Board of fifteen Directors there was no thought entertained by fourteen members as to choice of Chairman other than Dr. Nuttall, their fellow-Director; and so it was at every recurring annual election for the remaining thirty-four years of his extraordinarily useful life. . . .

During this period of thirty-four years the Mico made notable growth commensurate with and largely contributing to the growth of Elementary Education in Jamaica. In every stage of the growth of the College . . . it was to its Chairman that the Board confidently looked for initiative and final guidance.

When the great emergencies in the history of the Mico occurred, the destruction of the College buildings by earthquake, soon to be followed by the destruction by fire of the re-erected buildings, the value of the Chairman's services in saving the College from any serious loss of efficiency in its work is beyond all praise. As the years went by, our Chairman, the Head of the Anglican Church in Jamaica and Chairman of various Boards, had become widely known and trusted as the wisest of counsellors, and the confidence placed in his unselfish aims and sound judgment by the Trustees in England and by the local government, upon whose joint support the maintenance of the College depended, stood the Mico in good stead in the days of its heavy trials.

The Directors feel that they lose, in the death of Dr. Nuttall, an ideal Chairman. That he was such was due to his thorough mastery of every subject brought before the Board, and his clear and full and unhurried exposition of the end desired, the means to be adopted, the difficulties to be met, and how; his promptitude in despatching business, avoiding needless delay, his equable temper, his genial manner, his abounding common sense and "saving sense of humour," his readiness to welcome any new point of view, any helpful suggestion, and his power to combine the various views and suggestions so as to reach a final decision meeting the approval of all.

In addition to these formal appreciations of the Archbishop's work, many private individuals wrote of him to members of his family and others. Archdeacon Simms contributes the following notes:

I made the acquaintance of the Rev. Enos Nuttall when, as lay representative of St. Mary's, Santa Cruz, I first sat in the tenth Synod in 1879; from that time I saw him in Synod on my

visits to Kingston, and as the Bishop who ordained me in 1881; from the time of my coming to Kingston in 1883 I was in constant communication with him and frequently helped him in his work both for the Church and for Education; he was my immediate superior, both as Bishop and as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Jamaica College. I doubt whether any one could be called an intimate friend of his, as he was a very lonely and reserved man. In all my long intercourse with him I only remember three occasions when he broke through the veil of reticence and spoke freely of his inner life and feelings, and the experience of men as close and dear to him as Bishop Douèt and Archdeacon Panton was the same as my own. He would talk freely to us of his aims and wishes, remote and ultimate as well as immediate, for his public activities, but of his private life and feelings very, very seldom.

He was a very great man, great not only in the opinion of the smaller men who worked with him in Jamaica, but in the opinion of men great in the eyes of the whole world; great Churchmen, great statesmen, and great business men, all considered him their peer. He had the constructive imagination which is only given to a few even among the leaders of men, and at the same time the somewhat opposite qualities of thoroughness in detail and capacity for taking pains.

Equally marked was the fact that his whole life was lived in the presence of God. The well-known instance of his falling on his knees in a crowded assembly when the earthquake came upon him is a striking example of his constant attitude of humble faith and trust in God. Two of the most striking traits of his character were the beautiful simplicity and humility with which none who knew him could fail to be impressed, the result of his simple faith in Christ and in the eternal truths of the gospel of salvation. No man is free from infirmities and temptations, but throughout his life he tried to walk with God.

Externally, he was gifted with a fine presence and a fine voice; he was not a man of strong health and he had to lead a careful life; but, except during a somewhat lengthy breakdown in mid-career, his health never seemed to condition or limit his activities until the last few years of his life.

Starting as a clergyman of the Church of England with some disadvantages, he came to the front before he was thirty as the one man equal to the occasion at the time of disestablishment, "the Moses of the Anglican Church in Jamaica," as he was styled by a non-Anglican minister in a sermon after his death, and he remained a leader till the end. But one may perhaps best see this as he showed himself after the earthquake, not only to those

with whom he usually worked, but to the leaders in other lines of life and to the public at large. "The public spirit, the courage and endurance, the tact and forbearance, the kind indulgence, the ready hearing to all," which they found in him then, had long been known to us. They said that "his very presence ensured harmony to their proceedings," and that he counted "no toil or labour or self-sacrifice too great"; also that "his mature wisdom was united to a fervent spirit."

But his earthquake services were only the culmination of those he rendered to the communal life all through his career. He was generally a leader, always a helper in all good works, social, educational and agricultural, in anything that made for the public good. To many of us he seemed a divinely appointed leader; his gifts naturally raised him to a position of pre-eminence; and he was not only a leader, but also a helper, guide, and counsellor, to all classes of the community irrespective of position or colour, of sect or belief.

Thus he was to the community as a whole. In other Churches than his own he was a kindly friend and adviser, so that the head of one of them said that "he would be missed by the sister Churches as much as by his own." His heart was fixed on their closer union; and whether that union comes soon or late, the kindly feeling and friendship which exists amongst the Churches here to a greater degree than in any other country that I know, is largely his work. When he was in England after the earthquake he not only laid the case of his own Church before the Mother Church at home, but he attended meetings of the Governing Committees of several other Churches to lay their case before their own people. In Church or State it was his greatest happiness to do good. He was, as he once said of himself, "a good fighting man"; but his fights were never for personal or sectional aims; he much preferred winning by reason and persuasion, and he was always ready to consider and often to adopt views other than his own.

In his own Church and amongst those who knew him best he attracted to himself, as our present Bishop has said, "an amount of mingled veneration and attachment such as few are privileged to win in this world." The best account of his methods of work among the clergy and committees in the country churches that I have seen appeared in the *Record* after his death written by Bishop Ingham, who visited him here and went round with him on some of his tours.

I can speak personally of his organizing, administrative, and governing work in Synod, on Boards innumerable, both ecclesiastical and scholastic, and also often in his own study. In his preaching and teaching he was "a grand, simple, plain and force-

ful exponent of the old truths," "he was great in intellect, great in judgment, a born leader of men"; he came not to be ministered to but to minister; he was dignified without pomposity, frugal without austerity, doing his alms abundantly in secret, reticent and reserved but most kindly. I am told that some of his clergy feared him; and, of course, a ruler of men has at times to become a "beast"; but he was not only a "just beast," but a most kindly and merciful one. I remember cases in which, when the two or three counsellors whose advice he asked were on the side of stern justice, he chose that of mercy and hope.

Sometimes at the end of continued anxious work in Synod or elsewhere, with tired body and fretted nerves he would fail to rise to the episcopal ideal of "suffering fools gladly"; I remember one occasion when he failed to suffer me, and I also remember that a few days after he told me that he had lain awake two nights grieving over it. At times want of sleep induced by overwork and anxiety and no play produced the fretted nerves of which I have spoken. But the general impression is not of things like those, but of the kindly leader whom men followed lovingly and willingly. The valet only sees the unheroic side of the hero; but men like Bishop Douèt in the Church and Dr. Gillies in Educational matters, who knew him well and each of whom has left his own mark in the country and from each of whom he himself gained much, were amongst his most constant admirers and followers; and amongst our Governors it was men like Sir Henry Norman and Sir Sydney Olivier who most frequently sought and most often followed his advice.

This is the actual impression produced on one who worked with him for over thirty years in more than one of his many activities, and who saw him in times of bodily weakness and of mental stress as well as in seasons of fair weather.

The Bishop of Winchester (the Right Rev. E. S. Talbot, D.D.) wrote to his son, the Rev. C. E. Nuttall, on the 12th of June, 1916:

I write, on the anniversary as it happens of my mother's death, to express my sympathy with you over the ending of your father's noble life.

I had come to know him fairly well; we were, I think, drawn together in thought, and he wrote me one letter which moved me much to gratitude and affection.

The Church of our Communion is greatly poorer for the loss of his wise head and large heart. And if we come again, while I live, to any of the wider gatherings of Bishops, there is hardly anyone that I shall miss more.

The late Bishop of St. Albans (Jacob) wrote to his daughter on the 5th of June:

. . . There was a warm friendship of many years' standing between your father and myself. We thought alike on so many great matters, we both took broad ideas on many great questions of public policy, and were both profoundly interested in missions and the extension of the Kingdom of God.

Your father could never be a narrow man. He combined width with depth, which always attracted me so much. He was the statesman-Bishop, but always a spiritually minded Christian. The visit that I made five and a half years ago to Jamaica was to me one of profound interest and I feel sure of profit to myself and others. It lives in my memory. Ever since your father was described to me by Bishop Thorold, then Bishop of Rochester, as the " regenerator of Jamaica " I was drawn to him, and thank God for all he was permitted to be and to do. I shall write to your mother by the next mail to give her my deepest sympathy. It seems to me that your father left the Church in Jamaica so well organized that there should be no difficulty in carrying things on.

The Bishop of Islington wrote to the same daughter:

. . . Your father held a unique position in the Colonial Church, for not only was he a pattern shepherd, a Bishop of his Diocese, but he took a leading part in its civil life, he was, indeed, by common consent the chief man in Jamaica, and his death will leave a terrible gap there.

For myself I have lost a dear and valued friend, and am truly thankful to have had his friendship. . . .

On the 2nd of June the late Lady Musgrave wrote:

. . . Our loss is irreparable. What the Archbishop did for the British West Indies cannot be reckoned by us here on earth, deeply as we recognize it. But thousands of souls have gained strength and light from his teaching and his love. He was revered and loved by me for what he did in dear Jamaica; and the impulse that he gave will not soon fail to act for good there and wherever he was known. . . .

On the 5th of June the late Canon MacDermot wrote from Montreal to his widow:

. . . He will be mourned by many at his loss from the Diocese, all the more keenly as the years pass by. His thoughtfulness for others, his consideration for their feelings, and above all his

freedom from anything like malice, or keeping in his mind any remembrance of wrong that had been done to him, in word or deed. I have had ceaseless opportunity of noting, and admiring and thanking God for this grace that he has been enabled to display in all his public administration. God be praised for his noble, generous, considerate, and loving character, and may the strength and beauty of that character be stamped deep in the hearts and in the affections of many in the Church in Jamaica. . . .

On the 10th of June the Bishop of Antigua (Hutson) wrote:

. . . I thank God it was given me to meet and know him, though only for a short time, for I found the influence of his wisdom and piety an inspiration. From the first moment I met him he struck me as a splendid example of one who had learned "to tarry the Lord's leisure," and in that school had gained the gift of patience and sympathy in dealing with others, even with those who did not see eye to eye with him.

As my experience of a Bishop's life and work grows I see more and more the wisdom and soundness of his counsels to me.

We had a service of remembrance of him before God on Friday morning, the 2nd, and similar services were held in most of the islands of the Diocese. . . .

Mr. Joseph Rippon wrote to the present writer:

In private as in public life His Grace was most charming. Full of hard common sense, dry humour, and an intense belief in himself and in the success of any work to which he had laid his hand.

We spent a week-end with him at the charming residence of a mutual friend, together with Mr. Philip Cork. Our hostess had arranged with the Archbishop to take the service at the pretty little church across the road, and there was an overflowing congregation and a good collection for some good object our hostess was and is for ever performing. The quiet settling down to hear the sermon had come. Not a sound was heard, as a discourse from an Archbishop was not a daily or weekly treat. In his quiet incisive voice the text came: "And Joseph was a rich man!" I looked at our host and he smiled, but for the remainder of that day there was not much peace for either of us. As we were put down as the successful man!

After the midday meal we retired to a sitting-room and for some hours the interests of Jamaica were very much in evidence, and the Archbishop had to have his joke at our methods of "resting on the seventh day," but as he said, the good service we hoped

to give to the island would be its own palliative; we were not breaking the Sabbath by giving our minds to the service of others.

One incident I remember was the visit of the Archbishop to London after the great earthquake which devastated the whole of Kingston in 1907. There had been formed in London, as soon as the knowledge of this disaster reached us, a Committee of the West India Committee to consider and take steps for the relief of the sufferers. Matters were progressing very satisfactorily. The Lord Mayor had been approached and it had practically been agreed that the circumstances warranted the opening of a Lord Mayor's Fund, and also that a grant-in-aid would be forthcoming from the Imperial Government. It will be remembered that the former reached £50,000 to £60,000 and the latter put down at £80,000. When all this had fairly been got under way the Archbishop came to our meeting, and I remember, as if it were to-day, our dear old friend walking in, absorbing the whole committee and all its affairs. . . .

We all knew what a fine administrator the Archbishop would prove, and he secured during his stay much sympathy and practical help from English Church congregations.

Colonel Fawkes wrote to the author as follows :

. . . General Gamble, on whose staff I was in 1883-84, when he was administering the Government of Jamaica, always consulted the Archbishop on any important subject, as he felt there was no one in the island to whom he could go with such confidence.

It was always a great delight to me to meet the Archbishop when he visited England. On one occasion he came to stay with us when I was an instructor at the Royal Military College at Sandhurst for a Sunday, and he preached in the College Chapel to the cadets a most impressive sermon on "One thing thou lackest."

Sir George R. Parkin, writing to the author on the 9th of June, said:

And now the cable has brought to us the news that you have lost your great Archbishop. He always struck me as one of the ablest men with whom my wide travels had brought me in contact. I fear that your community will find it difficult to fill the large place which he occupied in the life of the West Indies. I did not, of course, know him intimately, but so far as I did know him he left on my mind the impression of a really great man. I sympathize deeply with the sorrow which must be felt by all your community at his loss.

The following memoir has been contributed by Mr. Herbert G. de Lisser, C.M.G., editor of *The Gleaner*:

The massive, dignified appearance of Dr. Enos Nuttall, the strong, firm set of his features, slow walk, and the measured, level tones of his voice, were expressions of a mind and character which not only dominated the Church of England in Jamaica for many years, but exercised a most powerful influence on the life of Jamaica as a whole. During the last twenty years of his career —from the age of fifty-four to the age of seventy-four—he was certainly the strongest man in the Colony. For some thirty years he had been laying the foundations of that personal ascendency over other men with whom he came in contact, an ascendency which was accepted because it was the result not only of a striking personality, but of patient labour crowned with success, of a wide practical knowledge of affairs, a desire to arrive at concrete achievements which should have a general far more than a particular application, and because, more than all, it was exercised with a remarkable tactfulness, with a personal humility which had its origin in the Archbishop's conception of Christian duty and conduct, and in his very clear perception of the fact that men will consent to be led who would revolt at the very first indication of a haughty dictatorial attitude.

The character of no man is quite simple, even though certain traits of it may be of an essential simplicity. Character is always complex; the motives that inform our actions are varied and intertwined: some lie upon the surface, some are so deeply hidden that they never arise in the individual's own consciousness, though now and then they may clearly be perceived or shrewdly guessed at by clear-sighted observers. The character of a man like the late Archbishop could not be simple; and it is no reflection upon him to say that he was animated by a high ambition to guide others, to direct events, to impress his ideas and his convictions upon a wider circle than that afforded by the compass of his own Church in Jamaica. He had to deal with men, and he studied how to deal with them to the best ultimate advantage; he knew their human weaknesses and he was far too wise to treat those weaknesses as of but little account. He was, indeed, aware that what might be regarded as of but little account in the disposition of a man may really be the most potent impelling factor with him. The unobservant might wonder why a kindly enquiry about one's wife, the sending of a personal message to one's adolescent daughter, might bring one to look upon an impersonal public question from a new and quite a different point of view.

The Archbishop knew that it often had that effect. I do not

think he spent much time in wondering why this should be so; his was not a speculative but a practical philosophy. He did not seek to enquire into psychological origins, but merely perceived the facts and acted upon them, when he could do so without loss of dignity or sacrifice of principle. He knew how human beings are influenced, not meanly, not basely, but quite humanly, and he did not disdain to be human in his relations with them. He could not have succeeded in Jamaica otherwise. Helped though he would have been by his high position, by the undisputed strength of his character and intellect, yet in a comparatively small community, torn by petty jealousies and trivial ambitions, he would have found almost hopeless many of the tasks he undertook had he not always kept in mind that the measures and the ends in view can only be reached through human instruments that must be handled deftly and wisely and kindly. By having continually that fact in mind, he reached success where failure might often have been his portion. And sometimes failure was his portion when passion or suspicion or ignorance was proof against all personal influence, all argument, all facts. But he knew always how to accept defeat. And thus some of his defeats were but temporary, as I think he expected they would be.

These may seem dogmatic assertions to those who did not know Dr. Nuttall. I must therefore seek to bring into clear relief the man as I knew him, and thus to illustrate what I have baldly set down about him.

The first time I saw him was at a function held in connection with the Mico Training Institution. I think they were laying the foundation-stone of the new building to the north of Kingston; anyhow, the gathering was great, and all the educational and Church dignitaries of Jamaica, with officials, merchants, and leading professional men, were present. How I came to be there I cannot now remember; I was only a lad, and the Mico was less than a name to me. I never forgot that scene. The crowd was seated or standing in the open air; on an improvised wooden platform were Dr. Nuttall and those who were chief assistants at the function. He read his address, and, far away from him though I was, his voice came clear and resonant to me, every word distinctly uttered, every sentence moving with a sort of steady, stately march to the close of the discourse. Clothed in the scarlet and white of a Bishop of the Anglican Confession, his head bare, one hand resting firmly on the rough reading desk before which he stood, his tall impressive form dominated the scene. Even then I realized that this was no ordinary man; and no one could look at the broad low forehead, Bismarckian nose, the deep-set observant eyes, the strong, determined jaw, the large mouth with its

long upper lip coming firmly down upon the lower, or hear that voice which, even and calm though it ordinarily was, could upon occasion assume an imperious tone, without perceiving that here was one born to command and destined to lead. His was a rugged face. Not a single feature was regular. And the nature of the Archbishop was rugged and irregular, as is some giant rock —and as steadfast. His appearance largely indicated the manner of man he was.

My next recollection of him is of his calling at the *Gleaner* office one day to talk over with me some public matter. He had wanted to see me some time before, he said, but had been much too busy to come down into the city before. I mentioned that I should have been very glad to go and see him had he rung me up or had a note sent to me; but it was only many years after this, when either great pressure of work or ill-health made movement difficult to him, that he would ask if I could spare the time to go and see him at his house, and always he left the day and the hour to my convenience.

I mention this simply because it illustrates what I have said above about his personal humility and simplicity in dealing with other men. There was no time at which I, and any other person in Jamaica, would not have willingly arranged to call on him at his request and at his convenience, but that request was very rarely made. He waived the circumstance of his position; he knew, too, that there was a compliment implied in his making it a point to call on those with whom he desired to discuss any question. A lesser man might have found delight in sending at his will for other people, but a lesser man would have provoked resentment by this species of presumption. What could not possibly be considered presumption in Dr. Nuttall he nevertheless hardly ever did, and never without stating some reason for so doing. Of the utmost dignity himself, with a self-respect that was never lowered in any circumstances whatever, he was also careful of the self-respect of others, of the self-love and sensitive human feeling of others, too, if you like to put it that way.

And this trait of him was marked throughout his life. I have known quite humble people whom he visited when Bishop, and who loved him because of the attention which he paid to them, on account of his quiet but genuine interest in their welfare. There was an old black man who was never tired of telling a story about him. He had gone to see the Archbishop, and, awed by his presence, had seated himself bolt upright on the edge of the chair which the Archbishop had offered to him. "Throw yourself back and be comfortable, Mr. ——," said His Grace; "and I threw myself back," said the old man, "but who else would have

told me to do so?" Others, perhaps, if they had noticed the constrained attitude of that old peasant-farmer. But I wonder how many would have noticed it? How many would have thought of putting that obscure, uninfluential old peasant at his ease?

He listened to anyone who had anything to tell him with an imperturbable patience. I don't remember having seen him look bored, though he often must have been; but on occasions, when some particularly voluble person was pouring out a flood of words upon him, I have now and then seen a smile of amusement steal over his countenance, slight, almost imperceptible; yet if he had the time he would listen to the end. But if business pressed he would interpose at length, briskly, and politely, but decisively, summing up what there was of fact or sense in what he had been told; and always he seized upon what was really essential. This was partly the secret of his ability to reach acceptable decisions at meetings where all sorts of varying views would be expressed: he grasped what was essential. "The Archbishop hears what everyone has to say," it was once said, "then he says what he has to say, and everybody agrees with him." It sounded like that at times, but it was hardly ever quite like that, at any rate, not when he had to do with ordinary public questions dealt with by public men. He might think his own views the wisest, his own way the best, but he recognized that the shortest and clearest way to an end is hardly ever followed unless the compulsion of circumstances is imperative. Consequently, in handling public affairs, he sought to reconcile different methods and views, taking the best that was in these, modifying them according to a plan of his own, and then presenting his conclusions argumentatively and persuasively, thus winning general support. During the days immediately ensuing on the great earthquake which destroyed Kingston, I saw him sit for hour after hour under a shed in the yard of the St. George's Rectory attending to every word uttered by the several speakers who debated some proposal or the other. After a while, I became accustomed to hearing the brief speech beginning: "Very well, gentlemen," a speech which would keep strictly to essentials and which would shortly present a conclusion so framed as to appear as though everyone present had had it more or less in mind. After that there was rarely a dissenting voice.

He had no doubt as to his ability to lead others, and he wanted to lead. It was an entirely justifiable ambition which made him desirous of leading not only in the religious but in the secular world. He did not absolutely separate the two. He felt that it would be foolish even to endeavour to do so, and he saw no

reason why a Churchman, merely because he was a Churchman, should abstain from activity in matters affecting the material and social welfare of the people. He knew that clergymen are often unpractical, and he said it. "Do you know," he remarked to me one day, "that one of the greatest tasks I have is to get some of my clergymen to look at business questions in a business-like spirit?" Contrariwise, he had far too wide an experience of human beings, too true an insight into human nature, to imagine that men are all goodness or badness, all gold or clay. He did not expect the best to be immaculate, and from what many would have called the worst he hoped for and found redeeming acts and traits. "One of the kindest men I have ever known," he said on one occasion, "was a usurer." Most of us do not usually think of usurers as kind. But it would not have been like Archbishop Nuttall to have included all of them in one unqualified category or denunciation, any more than he would ever have thought of regarding all clergymen as saints.

From extremes of expectation as from extremes of opinion he carefully kept himself; indeed, it would have been repugnant to his well-balanced mind to indulge in extremes of any kind. If the word "compromise" was often on his lips, if he seemed perpetually to be seeking for a middle way, for the reconciliation of opposing views, for the smoothing away of difficulties, that was because his was a mind and a nature moderate in spite of their strength; moderate in action, steady and sure in the perception of what was possible and what it was of little use to try for. This would seem to indicate that there was nothing of the heroic in his disposition; it certainly affirms that there was nothing rash. But I am satisfied that if the emergence of imperative conditions had ever rendered heroic acts on his part necessary, those acts would have been forthcoming; he would have regarded them as inevitable; therefore as necessary; and he would have gone straight to the end as he saw it with the directness of an avalanche. For once he had made up his mind, he stuck to the course he deemed best, and then it was that the imperious element in him, without which there is no such thing as strength of character, came immediately into play.

There are many who must remember that at one meeting of the Anglican Synod over which he presided there was a marked difference of opinion between some of the clergy, led by a prominent ecclesiastic and others whose sentiments were voiced by Archdeacon Simms, as to the building of new Church schools in the country in which the principles of the Anglican Communion should be taught. Over one school in particular the verbal conflict raged for a while, and then the Archbishop spoke. Un-

equivocably he declared that he would not allow it to be built; he made it understood that, no matter who differed from him, the money for that school would not be forthcoming. I mentioned the matter to him a few weeks afterwards. "——," he said, "does not understand local conditions. The people who tell him that they will contribute regularly to pay the debt on the school are quite in earnest; they believe they mean to do what they say. But they won't do it. After a little while the contributions would fall off and the debt would have to be faced by the whole Church. Now"—and the voice grew deep, and the face became set—"I am responsible for the financial condition of the Church, and so long as that is so I will not allow it to get into difficulties that can be avoided. *I will not allow it.*" There was not a suggestion of compromise about him then. He was going to have his way if the whole Church disapproved. Solvency was vital to his businesslike, methodical mind, and he would insist upon it as a first principle of Church policy. For the Church's solvency he was responsible. Therefore, if required, he would act as a master—in the interests of the Church.

But when he had to handle an important question connected with Church policy, but on which neither he nor the Anglican Church could have the final word, he adopted quite a different attitude. It was at the time of the agitation for transforming denominational schools into national schools; the English Free Churches had been clamouring for and fighting for the change, and in Jamaica the non-Episcopal Churches took up the same position and uttered the identical cry. The Roman Catholic authorities in Jamaica at once announced that they would prefer to do without Government aid than to relinquish the privilege of teaching in the elementary schools under their jurisdiction the elements of the Roman Catholic faith. But the Roman Catholic schools were comparatively few, while the schools in the hands of the Anglican Communion were very many, more, indeed, than belong to any other two or even three denominations in the island. It was expected that the Anglican Church would fight to retain its right to teach denominational religion in their school buildings, and also to continue to exercise over the schools the surveillance and influence which ownership of the school buildings must inevitably imply. The other Protestant bodies were prepared to combat any such pretensions, and they expected they would have the Legislative Council on their side. The Governor, Sir Sydney Olivier, was a strong advocate of making the schools national and non-religious; in an open fight the Anglicans must have been defeated. There was no fight. The Archbishop accepted quietly the decision that a change must be made from

denominational to national schools, the school buildings of the churches to be gradually abandoned as the national schools were provided. Many of the Anglican clergy disagreed with this decision. I myself thought that the whole agitation was an egregious blunder; what might be suitable to England was not necessarily adapted to a country and a people very much unlike England and the English. In conversation with the Archbishop one day I brought the matter up.

"The whole thing is a mistake," I said, "but you accepted it."

"We could not insist upon having denominational education if the Government and the country did not want it," he quietly replied. "How could we say that we would not have any change, or that we would not allow our schools to be used for educational purposes? I do not think the change is the best thing for this country, but there was nothing else to do but what we did."

"But, Your Grace, how are we to get national schools? *When* can we ever have them?"

There was a flicker of the heavy eyelids, a half-smile about the lips, and then the answer came.

"Ah! After a little while they will find that to build schools costs money. The change, if it is to come, will come very gradually, as they will see."

The change has not been effected yet. The wise old man had perceived that all the loud talk and louder cries would die down when the realization came that to demand the utter ousting of the denominations from all educational activity and influence would mean the expenditure of a very large sum of money on school buildings; he knew that the enthusiasm for this latest new thing would disappear; in the meantime, he recognized that the Anglican Church in Jamaica, disestablished, claiming no privilege which the other denominations might not claim, would place itself in an invidious position did it stand out against a demand, apparently from the country, that the education of the country's children should entirely be a secular concern. Such an attitude must inevitably have led to bitter conflict, might have caused the Legislature to burden the colony with debt for schools which were not really needed, and would thus have led to the setting up of an educational organization which would have functioned less efficiently than the existing system does. In a word, he foresaw the future; his apparent defeat, the defeat of one who, like the rest of his Church, must needs be in favour of denominational connection with education, meant ultimate victory. Not a personal victory, but at least the partial triumph of the principle in which he firmly believed.

To-day we hear nothing about the building of national schools.

The Church schools are still utilized for purposes of popular education. So long as this is so, the several Churches must continue to exercise a considerable influence over the children who attend those schools. And more than one of the non-Anglican Protestant ministers who in former days demanded the nationalization and secularization of education in Jamaica have confessed to me since that they think a mistake was made then. These wish that denominational tenets were taught in the schools once more, and, I have no doubt that the Archbishop believed that some day a demand would go forth from erstwhile opponents for the return of the older and simpler system of teaching Jamaica children something about the religion which they are expected to follow and about which they had hitherto learnt a little in the schools in the most impressionable days of their life.

Not admitting that there was any or should be any complete severance between secular and religious matters, he was pleased to be able to associate himself with men of business and affairs in movements of public importance. He understood them instinctively, for he himself was by disposition a man of business and affairs, and his position and responsibility as administrator of a large religious communion had taught him practically to appreciate something of their point of view. Sir Sydney Olivier, when Governor of Jamaica, said publicly one day in the Legislative Council that he knew of no man in Jamaica who could make a shilling go farther than the Archbishop could; and the Archbishop had a real admiration for the man who succeeded in business, who accomplished what he undertook to do. "I don't believe in calling men lucky or unlucky," he observed on one occasion after I had mentioned that a certain well-known person in Jamaica had the reputation of being unlucky, "but I always remember a rule of the present Lord Rothschild. He invariably enquires, when he is asked to have business transactions with anyone, whether that man has failed or succeeded. If the man has failed, Lord Rothschild will have nothing to do with him, and nothing will move him from this determination. He believes that man will fail again." Which perhaps is rather too sweeping a judgment, but nevertheless contains a large measure of truth. A successful man himself, Dr. Nuttall believed in having successful men as helpers, liked to be associated with them, was pleased with their appreciation. He never deliberately courted the applause of any section of the community, but he appreciated recognition of his efforts. He would have worked without it; he was one to whom, to borrow Carlyle's phrase, the tools would inevitably go, for he could utilize them. But a just appraisal of his achievements gave him encouragement and pleasure. He was not a superman,

above pleasure or pain. Had he been, his life would have been of less value and service to Jamaica.

An ambition to serve one's fellow-men, not only in one sphere but in all spheres of high endeavour and practical usefulness, is one of the motives to exertion which is superior to the attractions of ease or gain; it impels one to face discomfort, misrepresentation, calumny, and its satisfaction is an end in itself. It was natural for the Archbishop to identify himself with secular movements in Jamaica; he saw what might be done in connection with such movements and felt what he could do. The day after the great earthquake he offered his services to the Government. There was work of the first importance to be undertaken and performed; it would have been insincerity in him to have pretended to himself that there were others quite as well able to perform it. He believed in himself, could not do otherwise; therefore, without affectation he placed himself at the head of all the merchants and professional men of Kingston, whose task at the moment was to bring order out of sudden and terrific chaos and to accomplish the restoration of ordinary civil life with all possible despatch. This was the supreme moment of his career as a public man. This was an opportunity for a display of administrative ability, for a marked exercise of personal influence, and he regarded his Chairmanship of the Earthquake Committee as natural and proper. So did everyone else; there was no other man thought of in preference to him, no one who at that time could have as efficiently filled the position. A little later on it became apparent that if Kingston was to be rebuilt a large loan must be raised, and the only source of that loan was obviously the Imperial Government. The Governor of the day was not in favour of this loan, however, and this was an obstacle in the way of its being successfully negotiated. "Some personal effort will be necessary," the Archbishop said to me. "You will have to go to England, sir, and make that effort," was my reply. He nodded; he had known that from the first. He went, accompanied by Arthur W. Farquharson, and the result of that mission is known to all Jamaica, and finds embodiment in the best that there is in the appearance of the Kingston of to-day.

Any man who has proved his capacity to deal with large affairs must afterwards resign himself to the transaction of minor matters with the feeling that much of his energy, which might so usefully be employed, is now condemned to practical disuse. I cannot but think that the Archbishop felt, if he did not consciously think, this when, with Kingston being restored once more, he returned to his ordinary work. Had his calling been secular, and the country been a different and a far more highly organized one, we

might have seen such a man still taking an active part in public affairs as long as his bodily and mental strength permitted; but this is not a country where there is a wide and permanent field for political activity, and in any event the Archbishop would never have forgotten that he was first of all the head of a Church and the servant of God. Hence, a few months after the earthquake, we saw him busy with Church affairs once more, and rarely after that was he prominently active in public life. He represented Jamaica at the King's Coronation, and some of us hoped that some signal mark of recognition would have been bestowed upon him by the Sovereign for his efforts in connection with this island; we hoped and were disappointed. He established a model-dwelling experiment in Kingston. His last utterance on a public question—steamship connection between England and Jamaica—was made at my earnest request in an interview published in the *Gleaner*. He gave this interview as a public duty; I had told him frankly that his help and support were needed. As a rule, he preferred to write out what he had to say, then keep it by him for a while for further careful consideration. He broke the rule on this occasion; lying on his back on a sofa in his office he dictated a few sentences slowly, then, with a little smile, he asked:

"Is that what you want me to say?"

The question was pathetic; it was not one he would have asked a year or two before. But it was supremely human. He was dying; I think he knew it; his wasted frame and haggard features showed only too plainly the approach of the inevitable end. He gave this interview as a personal concession to my request; he wished to help me now if he could—as he had always wished, indeed; hence, the question, and the kind and fatherly smile which was like the benediction of one who felt that he had almost finished with the things and the interests of this earth.

This was the last time I saw him alive. I talked bravely enough, cheerfully, but sadness and sorrow were in my heart, and I took leave of him with the conviction that this was our last meeting.

He lingered for some time longer; then the solemn tolling of the bells of Kingston one day, of the church bells of all Jamaica, carried to everyone the news that he was dead.

One thing I like to dwell upon, and it is this. He, like every other man, had often been belittled, criticized, censured, his motives suspected, his actions questioned; this was his lot in common with others up to the very day when Jamaica's capital was shaken to its foundations and its walls became a mass of ruins and of dust. But after that the voices of the envious and the censorious were hushed; after that there grew up a truer recog-

nition of his worth, a deeper, stronger, personal regard for him. And as the years went on and it was known that his strength was failing and the end drawing near, a new note was struck by all who spoke of him: "our beloved Archbishop" he was called, even by those who were not of his Church, and he was enshrined in the hearts of the people of this country.

The day of his death was a day of national mourning; many men wept, for they had known and loved him. And those who saw him lying in state, in the church where for years in his earlier career he had fulfilled the duties of a clergyman, and gazed upon the thin, drawn face of the truest friend Jamaica ever had, took away with them an imperishable impression, an undying memory, of one who was not only strong in will, resolute in action, successful in deed, but who was also a good man with a heart which sympathized with human frailty, one whom those who knew him best had come to love and to revere for all that was noble and all that was excellent in his character and in his self-sacrificing and devoted life.

Lastly the Bishop of Jamaica writes:

I am privileged to add a few lines to the biography of my revered Chief, under whom I served as Assistant Bishop for the last two and a half years of his life. I shall never cease to be grateful for the lessons learnt during that brief period of service under one who was indeed a prince among the leaders of our Church.

His ability as an administrator, his sound practical judgment, his extraordinary attention to detail, his patience and sympathy in dealing with individuals, were among the characteristics which particularly impressed those who were associated with him in his work. In rare combination the Archbishop possessed the qualities of greatness and simplicity, severity and gentleness, gravity and a keen sense of humour. Few, if any, knew him really well. To use a common phrase, he very rarely "gave himself away." Dignified and reserved in manner, cautious and deliberate in action and speech, he seldom disclosed himself to others; but every new disclosure only strengthened the conviction that his was a truly great soul.

It was towards the close of the year 1913 that I became associated with Archbishop Nuttall in the work of the Diocese of Jamaica. His health had already become considerably impaired, and soon after my arrival in Jamaica he was compelled to reluctantly discontinue all country travelling and to reduce his public work in Kingston to a minimum. There was, however, no reduction of his more private administrative work in the office. With a determination that often surprised us he insisted on

remaining at his desk for hours in the day notwithstanding much weakness and pain. Presiding over Committees, receiving deputations, interviewing individuals, dictating letters, he found little time for the rest which he so much needed. Careful lest the strength of others should be overtaxed, he was unsparing in the expenditure of his own strength. When ill-health prevented him from personally taking part in a public meeting or ceremony his Assistant Bishop, who was sent to represent him, was expected to supply him with the minutest details of all that had been said and done. The attempt to lighten his burden of care by withholding any information which might arouse anxiety or suggest further action was generally frustrated, since he would discover the secret somehow and upbraid the would-be sharer of his burden for concealment of facts. His keen and active interest in the affairs of every cure was maintained to the last, and so also his interest in the various branches of social and educational work in which for many years he had taken so prominent a part in the island. The financial situation of the Diocese was his chief anxiety during his latter days. It was about two weeks before his death that he gave expression to this in a private conversation with special reference to the heavy debts on most of the church accounts and the consequent reduction of the clergy's stipends. "I am perplexed beyond measure," he said; "the subject is seldom out of my thoughts. I have done my best, but I can discover no remedy. I must soon lay down this burden for another to take up."

It is for others to speak of the earlier years of the Archbishop's ministry when in full vigour of mind and body he was in the forefront of every movement for the welfare of Jamaica. I can speak only of the closing years of his life, when the physical powers were waning and the activities becoming consequently limited. Like some wounded General who, loath to quit the field of action and preferring to die amid the din of battle, refuses to be borne away to a place of security and quiet, he remained at his post till death. Even within a week of his death he summoned a Committee to his bedside, and while lying on his bed he ably conducted the business of an important meeting.

It was my privilege to minister to him during his last days on earth. On the Sunday preceding the day of his death the members of his family and household gathered in the sick room to partake with him of the Blessed Sacrament. We sang two of his favourite hymns, "Rock of Ages, cleft for me" and "Through all the changing scenes of life." He was evidently suffering great pain, and at times it seemed as though the service was too much for him; but he insisted on rising in his bed to receive the sacred

elements, and then with a look of profound peace and joy leaned back on his pillow and audibly joined with us in the "Gloria in Excelsis." He was constantly in prayer. For himself the prayer re-uttered again and again was "God be merciful to me, a sinner." But it was not only for himself he prayed: he prayed unceasingly for the work which he must so soon and so reluctantly lay down. It was just before he finally lost consciousness that he raised himself from his pillow and, lifting up his hand in blessing, said slowly: "Rich and poor, white, black, and coloured, God bless you all." I think those were the last words I heard him utter. A few minutes before he ceased to breathe I knelt by his bedside and commended his spirit to the tender mercy and care of Him whom he had trusted so implicitly and served so faithfully.

APPENDIX

PUBLICATIONS*

1867. Christian Stability. [Sermon preached on taking office as an incumbent after a year's labour as temporary minister at St. George's Church, Kingston.] *Kingston, Ja.*

1868. Abstract of a Paper by Rev. Enos Nuttall on Education. *In* " Minutes of Proceedings of the First Annual Congress of Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Jamaica, held in Kingston on Wednesday and Thursday, the 13th and 14th of May, 1868, with Papers read before the Congress. *Kingston, Ja.*, 1868."

1869. Suggestions for the Better Selecting, Preparing and Appointing the Catechists of the Church of England in Jamaica, with Remarks on Honorary Lay-Readers. [By the Rev. D. H. Campbell and Rev. E. Nuttall.] *Kingston, Ja.*, 1869.

1870. Circular Letter to the Trustees of the Island Curates' Fund respecting balances of loans advanced on houses, and to ascertain the opinion of the Trustees as to whether in the present circumstances of the Fund an Actuary should be consulted, and what, if any, should be the definite particulars or proposals concerning which the Actuary's opinion should be sought. *Kingston*, 1870.

Church Reorganization by a Kingston presbyter in Letters reprinted from the *Jamaica Guardian*, February, 1870. *Kingston, Ja.*, 1870.

On Jamaica Church. In *Church Missionary Intelligencer.* C.M.S., 1870.

1871. Speech delivered in the Synod of the Church of England in Jamaica, August, 1871. (Reprinted from the *Morning Journal.* The Powers of the Diocesan Council and the Prerogatives of the Bishop.) [By Rev. E. Nuttall.]

* All these works, except those marked *, may be consulted in the West India Reference Library in the Institute of Jamaica.

Proposals for a Church of England Training Institution in Jamaica. February, 1871. [By Rev. E. Nuttall.]

1872. Prefatory Statement. *In* "Memorial of the Diocesan Council of the Church of England in Jamaica to the British Government, in Reference to the Claims of the Bishop of Kingston for the continuance of his Stipend from the Consolidated Fund; with a Prefatory Statement. [By D. H. Campbell and Enos Nuttall.] *London*, 1872."

1874. Proposals for a Church of England Training College, Jamaica, 1874. [By Rev. E. Nuttall.]

1880. A Sermon preached by the Rev. E. Nuttall, B.D., at a service held at St. Andrew's Parish Church, Jamaica, on Sunday afternoon, the 20th of June, 1880, being one of a series of Thanksgiving Services held on the completion of the Restoration of the Church. Love for the House of God.

The Same. *In* "Thanksgiving Sermons preached on Reopening of St. Andrew's Parish Church, Halfway Tree. *Kingston, Ja.*, 1880."

1881. [Address.] To the Members of Synod, the Members of the Representative Body, and Other Members of the Church of England in British Honduras. *Kingston, Ja.*, 1880.

1882. The Reconstruction of the City: a Paper read at a Meeting of the Fire Relief Committee. By the Bishop of Jamaica. *Kingston*, 1882.

1887. A Book of Special Services, together with special Prayers. By the Most Rev. Enos Nuttall, D.D., Bishop of Jamaica and Archbishop of the West Indies. Authorized for use in the Diocese of Jamaica, and so prepared as to be available for use in any other Diocese of the Province of the West Indies if authorized by the Bishop of the Diocese. 1887.

The Same. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. 1900.

Diocese of Jamaica. Parochial Mission, 1887. Address by the Bishop [E. Nuttall] to Clergy and Lay-Helpers, delivered at a Conference held in Spanish Town, 12th of August, 1887. *Kingston*, 1887.

*Sermon preached at the Barbados Provincial Synod. *Kingston*, 1887.

1888. A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Lay-Representatives of the Diocese of Jamaica in Synod assembled, 8th of February, 1888, by the Rt. Rev. E. Nuttall, D.D., Bishop of Jamaica. *Kingston, Ja.*, 1888.

1889. An Address given by the Bishop of Jamaica at the Parsonage, Belsize Park, London, on the 15th of February, 1889. *South Hampstead.*

1892. The Importance and Possibility of Attaining Reliable Religious Knowledge: An Address to Men delivered by the Bishop of Jamaica in the Parish Church, Kingston, on Friday evening, the 8th of April, 1892, and published by request. *Kingston*, 1892.

1893. The Churchman's Manual: a Book of Instruction and Devotion intended chiefly for the use of Members of the Church of England in Jamaica. By the Most Reverend Enos Nuttall, D.D., Bishop of Jamaica and Primate of the West Indies. *Kingston, Ja.*, 1893.

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The Same: in Pamphlet Form. *Kingston*, 1894.

1895. The Bishop's Address to Synod. *In* "Journal of the Twenty-sixth Synod of the Church of England in Jamaica. . . . *Kingston, Ja.*, 1895."

Address delivered by the Bishop of Jamaica, Primate of the Province of the West Indies, at a Meeting of the Bishops of the Provincial Synod and of the Clergy and Laity, Georgetown, Demerara, on Tuesday, the 5th of March, 1895. *Kingston*, 1895.

1896. Proposed Modifications in the Primary Education Laws and in the Code. Submitted to the Jamaica Board of Education on the 27th of October, 1896, by the Bishop of Jamaica, Vice-Chairman, in an Address. *Kingston*, 1896.

Letter to Professing Christian Persons and Congregations in Jamaica, 1896. [By E. Nuttall, Bishop of Jamaica.] *Kingston*, 1896.

The Worship of the Virgin Mary and Other Points of Controversy. By the Bishop of Jamaica, in Reply to the Bishop of Thyatira. *Kingston, Ja.*, 1896.

Are Catholics Idolaters? Full account of the controversy between Bishop Gordon and Bishop Nuttall. *Kingston*, 1896.

1897. Address to Synod. *In* "Journal of the Twenty-eighth Synod of the Church of England in Jamaica. . . . *Kingston, Ja.* [1897]."

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1898. Statement and Appeal by the Archbishop of the West Indies respecting Church and Educational Work and Needs in the Diocese of Jamaica. [*Kingston*, 1898.]

Address to Synod: in Pamphlet Form.

1899. Address to Synod: *In* "Journal of the Thirtieth Synod of the Church of England in Jamaica. . . . *Kingston*, 1899."

*Article on Liturgical Vestments. By E. Jamaica. *In The Times* of the 27th of September, 1899.

1900. A Sermon preached by the Archbishop of the West Indies at the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Halfway Tree, on Sunday morning, the 31st of December, 1899. *Kingston*, 1900.

Address to Synod. *In* "Journal of the Thirty-first Synod of the Church of England in Jamaica. . . . *Kingston*, 1900."

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1901. Address to Synod. *In* "Journal of the Thirty-second Synod of the Church of England in Jamaica. . . . *Kingston*, 1901."

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1902. The Same, for the year 1901. *Kingston, Ja.*, 1902.

Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Church of England in the Province of the West Indies, 1901. [Signed E. Jamaica for and on behalf of the Bishops of the Province.]

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY BILLING AND SONS, LTD., GUILDFORD AND ESHER

DIOCESAN MAP OF THE ISLAND OF JAMAICA

ORIGINALLY ISSUED AS A SUPPLEMENT TO "THE JAMAICA CHURCHMAN" December 1897
REPRINTED 1921 TO ACCOMPANY "THE LIFE OF ARCHBISHOP NUTTALL."

Scale of Statute Miles 0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 20

PLAN OF KINGSTON

1. Kingston (Parish Ch.)
2. St George's
3. St Michael's
4. Allman Town (St Matthew's)
5. Port Royal (St Peter's)
6. St Alban's
7. St Mark's (Railway Mission) (West Street)
8. All Saints (Love Lane)
9. St Barnabas's
10. St Michael's Sch.
11. St Paul's (Franklin Town)
12. Ch. of England Grammar School
13. Central Br. Sch.
14. St George's Sch.
15. W. Branch Sch.
16. St Michael's Sch.
17. Allman Tn. Sch.
18. Port Royal Sch.

* Port Royal and Rockfort are marked on large Map

REFERENCE

- Churches +
- School Chapels ×
- *Schools* ▪
- *Main Roads*
- *Parochial Roads*
- *Railways* Sta.
- *Parochial Towns* LUCEA

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute — John Bartholomew & Son Ltd

THE CHURCHES, SCHOOL-CHAPELS, MISSION STATIONS, AND SCHOOLS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO PARISHES.

NOTE.—The names of those Churches, Chapels, and Missionary Stations which were existing at the time of disestablishment (1870) are marked with an 'E; Chapels on the Missionary List are marked with an 'M. As the Churches, Chapels, and Schools have been arranged on this list according to parishes, some of the Schools do not appear opposite to the Churches to which they belong.

ARCHDEACONRY OF SURREY.

PORTLAND.

Churches.	*School-Chapels and Mission Stations.*	*Schools.*
PORT ANTONIO, CHRIST CHURCH 'E		Stony Hill Alpha Cottage Drapers Nonsuch Airy Mount Golden Vale
	Fellowship, Transfiguration	
HOPE BAY, ST PETER'S 'E		Hope Bay Paradise Fruitful Vale Bourbon
	Moore Town 'E 'M *Cooper's Hill 'M* *Comfort Castle 'M* *Bellevue 'M* *John's Hall 'M*	
ST MARGARET'S BAY, ST STEPHEN'S 'E		St Margaret's Bay
BUFF BAY, ST GEORGE'S 'E		Maidstone Rock Hall Buff Bay Charles Town Belvedere Windsor Castle
	Bybrook 'E 'M *Mount Hermon 'M* *Claverty Cottage 'E 'M*	
BIRNAM WOOD, ST JAMES'S 'E		Birnam Wood
	Fairfield 'M *Green Hills 'E 'M*	
MANCHIONEAL, ST THOMAS'S 'E BOSTON, ST MARK'S 'E RURAL HILL, ST MARY'S 'E		Manchioneal Boston Rural Hill Sherwood Forest Islington Windsor Forest

ST THOMAS.

MORANT BAY, CHRIST CHURCH 'E		Morant Bay
	St Boniface 'M	Wilmington Middleton Yallahs
YALLAHS, ST DAVID'S 'E	*Bull Bay 'M*	
THE ABBEY, ALL SAINTS TRINITYVILLE, TRINITY 'E		Easington Cow Bay The Abbey Trinityville Mount Libanus Font Hill Woburn Lawn Bath
WOBURN LAWN, ST JOHN'S 'E		
BATH, ST THOMAS'S 'E	*Mount Felix 'M*	
		Winchester Hayfield Duckenfield
GOLDEN GROVE, ST ANDREW'S 'E	*Thornton*	

ST ANDREW.

Churches.	*School-chapels.*	*Schools.*
HALFWAY TREE 'E		Halfway Tree, Boys Halfway Tree, Girls Halfway Tree, Infants
SWALLOWFIELD, ST JOHN'S 'M	*Hunts Bay, St Paul's 'M* *Molynes 'M*	
CROSS ROADS, ST LUKE'S GROVE, ST JOSEPH'S 'E		Theological College Grove
	August Town, St Cyprian's 'M	
WOODFORD, ST MARY'S 'E		Woodford
	Bowden Hill, St Barnabas's 'M *Maryland 'M* *Jack's Hill 'M*	
CRAIGTON, ST MARK'S 'E CLIFTON, ST PETER'S 'E		Craigton Clifton Mount Charles Tweedside Mavis Bank Olive Mount St Christopher's Essex Hall Stony Hill Golden Spring Mount James Mount Olive Union Hill
MAVIS BANK, ST MICHAEL'S 'E		
ST CHRISTOPHER'S 'E	*Padmore 'M*	
STONY HILL, ST JUDE'S		
MOUNT JAMES, ST JAMES'S 'E		
BRANDON HILL, ST PHILIP'S		
KINGSTON PARISH CHURCH 'E		Central Branch Church of England Grammar School
	St Alban's 'M *St Mark's, Railway Mission 'M*	
ST GEORGE'S 'E		St George's West Branch
	All Saints, West Street 'M *St Barnabas's, Love Lane 'M*	
ST MICHAEL'S 'E		St Michael's
ALLMAN TOWN, ST MATTHEW'S	*St Patrick's, Rockfort 'M*	Allman Town
PORT ROYAL, ST PETER'S 'E	*St Paul's, Franklin Town 'M*	Port Royal

KINGSTON.

ARCHDEACONRY OF MIDDLESEX.

ST MARY.

PORT MARIA, ST MARY'S 'E	*Bonnygate 'E 'M*	
RETREAT, HOLY TRINITY 'E		Little Bay Mason Hall Albion Mount Retreat
	Gayle 'M *Labyrinth 'E 'M* *Boscobel 'M* *Woodside 'M* *Belfield 'E 'M* *St Martin's 'M*	
HIGHGATE, ST CYPRIAN'S 'E		Highgate
SCOTT'S HALL, ST MARK'S 'E		Scott's Hall
ANNOTTO BAY, ST JAMES'S 'E		Annotto Bay Bromley Mahoe Hill George's Hope Baxter Mountain Come See Hope Hill
	Enfield, St Barnabas's 'E 'M	

ST ANN.

Churches.	*School-chapels.*	*Schools.*
ST ANN'S BAY, ST ANN'S 'E	*Chester 'E 'M* *Priory 'E 'M* *St Saviour's, Clarke's Town 'M*	St Ann's Bay
BROWN'S TOWN, ST MARK'S 'E	*Bamboo 'M* *Salisbury 'M*	Brown's Town
OCHO RIOS, ST JOHN'S 'E CLAREMONT, ST MATTHEW'S 'E	*Steerfield*	Ocho Rios
MONEAGUE, CHRISTCHURCH 'M GUY'S HILL, ST GEORGE'S 'E	*Clapham 'M*	Guy's Hill, St George's Guy's Hill Village
ABOUKIR, ST LUKE'S 'E GIBRALTAR		Aboukir Gibraltar

ST CATHERINE.

SPANISH TOWN, CATHEDRAL 'E SPANISH TOWN, TRINITY 'E ,, LEPER'S HOME, CHRISTCHURCH		Spanish Town, Cathedral
HIGHGATE, ST JOHN'S 'E	*Crescent, St Barnabas's 'M* *Mount Moreland 'M* *Lucky Valley 'M*	Highgate
LINSTEAD, ST THOMAS'S 'E LINSTEAD, HOLY TRINITY		Middlesex Bog Walk West Prospect Palm
	Ewarton, St Simon and St Jude's 'M	
HAREWOOD, ST SAVIOUR'S 'E		Harewood Hamwalk
	Goba 'M	Caledonia Rio Magno Kendal Dover Castle Above Rocks Long Hill, Mount Zion
ST FAITH'S, ABOVE ROCKS 'E	*Camperdown 'M* *Juan de Bolas 'M*	
LLUIDAS VALE, ST PETER'S 'E	*Top Hill, Christ Church 'M*	Lluidas Vale Roaring River Point Hill Lemon Hall Tamarind Tree
POINT HILL, ST GEORGE'S 'E		
OLD HARBOUR, ST DOROTHY'S 'E OLD HARBOUR, TRINITY OLD HARBOUR BAY, ST PHILIP'S 'E	*St Gabriel's 'M*	Bull's Mission Ludford Market Ludford Market Branch Marlie Hill
SOMERSET HALL, ST GEORGE'S 'E	*Longgrass, Watermount 'M* *Bella's Gate*	Barton's Ebenezer Good Hope
GUANABOA VALE, ST JOHN'S 'E		Guanaboa Vale

CLARENDON.

CHAPELTON, ST PAUL'S 'E	*Wildman's Gift 'E 'M* *Red Hills, St Gregory's* *Comfort 'M* *Ænon Town 'M* *Frankfield 'M* *Park Hall, Trinity 'M*	Old Pound Chapelton Mount Hindmost Comfort Kellitt's
ARTHUR'S SEAT, ST MICHAEL'S 'E		Mount Providence Brae Head Arthur's Seat
ST GABRIEL'S, LIME SAVANNA 'E	*Good Hope 'E 'M* *Mocho 'E 'M*	Lime Savanna Moore's

CLARENDON—*continued.*

Churches.	*School-chapels.*	*Schools.*
ALLEY, ST PE[illegible] 'E HAYES	*Mitchell Town 'M* *Salt River 'M*	Occasion Pen Alley Hayes
ST JOHN'S, PAND[illegible] 'E	*Race Course*	Portland
KEMP'S HILL, HO[illegible]S'S 'E		Milk River
MILK RIVER, ST S[illegible]R'S		Hall's Ville St Jago
	Toll Gate 'M *Freetown, St Michael's*	

MANCHESTER.

MANDEVILLE '[illegible]	*Old England 'M*	Mandeville, Boys Mandeville, Girls Mandeville, Infants Kendal Green Vale Hill Side Providence Rose Hill Chudleigh Waterloo Harry Watch Wear Content, St Paul's Pratville Manningsfield Chantilly Porus, St Augustine's Snowdon Salmon Town Campbell's Castle
PROVIDENCE, ST [illegible]'S 'E		
CHRISTIANA 'E	*Craighead 'M* *Alston 'M*	
MILE GULLY, ST G[illegible]E'S 'E	*Comfort Hall 'M*	
KEYNSHAM, ST [illegible]'E PRATVILLE, ST [illegible]'E CHANTILLY, ST [illegible]'S 'E POROUS, ST AUGUSTIN[illegible] 'E	*Auchtembeddie 'M*	
SNOWDON, ST [illegible]'E	*Smithfield 'M*	
	Alligator Pond 'M	

ARCHDEACONRY OF CORNWALL.

ST ELIZABETH.

BLACK RIVER, ST JOHN'S 'E		Black River Speculation Crawford Arlington
CRAWFORD	*Mountain Side, St Augustine's*	Parotte
	Pondside 'M	Hopewell Plains Bigwoods
THE PLAINS, ST PETER'S 'E	*Barbary Hall 'M* *Geneva, Newell 'M*	Sandy Bank Holland
LACOVIA, ST THOMAS'S 'E	*Orange Grove* *Slipe 'M*	Lacovia
WHITEHALL		New Market Wharton Middle Quarters
SILOAH, ST BARNABAS'S 'E		Siloah Siloah, Infants
	Niagara 'M *Mount Trinity 'M*	Barton Isle Mount Hermon Russell's
MOUNT HERMON, ST JAMES'S 'E		Nain, St Stephen's
NAIN, ST STEPHEN'S 'E		Austin Santa Cruz
GILNOCK, ST ANDREW'S 'E		Leeds Longwood

ST ELIZABETH—*continued.*

Churches.	*School-chapels.*	*Schools.*
ST MARY'S, SOUTHFIELD 'E		St Mary's, Southfield St Mary's, Southfield, Infants Morning Side Top Hill Mayfield Rose Hall Red Bank
MAYFIELD, ST MARK'S	*Warminster 'M*	
BALACLAVA, ST LUKE'S	*Bull Savanna 'M*	

TRELAWNY.

FALMOUTH, 'E	*Lichfield, St Stephen's 'M*	Falmouth
STEWART TOWN, ST THOMAS'S 'E RIO BUENO, ST MARK'S 'E SWANSWICK, ST MICHAEL'S 'E		Rio Bueno Swanswick, Clark's Town Whitehall
	Retirement 'M	St Silas
ST SILAS'S, TROY, 'E ALBERT TOWN, 'E		Albert Town
	Wait-a-bit 'M *Wilson's Valley 'M* *Freeman's Hall 'M*	

ST JAMES.

MONTEGO BAY, ST JAMES'S 'E ,, ,, TRINITY 'E	*Blue Hole 'M* *Grace Hill 'M*	Montego Bay, Holy Trinity
MONTPELIER, ST MARY'S 'E	*Cambridge 'E 'M* *Mocho 'M* *Caladupa 'M*	Flower Hill Whitehouse Montpelier
MARLEY, CHRIST CHURCH 'E		Marley

HANOVER.

LUCEA, 'E		Lucea Dry Hill St Simon's Mount Pleasant
	Dalmally 'M *Mount Peace 'M*	
GREEN ISLAND, TRINITY '[illegible]		Green Island Rock Spring
	Church Hill 'E 'M	Cave Valley
	Industry 'M	Middlesex
CHICHESTER, ST SAVIOUR'S 'E	*Chester Castle 'M* *Chigwell 'M*	Chichester

WESTMORELAND.

SAVANNA-LA-MAR 'E		Belfry Negril
NEGRIL, ST MARY'S 'E	*St Martin's* *Mount Airy 'M*	
BLUEFIELDS, ST THOMAS'S 'E KINGS, ST THOMAS'S 'E		Bluefields Kings
GRANGE HILL, HOLY TRINITY 'E	*Kentucky, St Matthias 'M*	Grange Hill Mount Grace
PETERSFIELD, ST PETER'S 'E		Petersfield
DARLISTON, ST JOHN'S 'E NEW ROADS, ST JAMES'S	*Grange 'M*	Darliston New Roads New Roads, Infants
	Hopewell 'M *New Park 'M*	Enfield

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